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“Make no little plans ; they have no magic to stir men’s blood, and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans ; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever growing insistency.”

DANIEL H. BURNHAM.

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EDITORIAL

During the past several years representatives of educational institutions of the east and of several Southern States, have been making "still hunts" in Alabama in quest of historical material with the view of acquiring the same for their libraries. Each representative makes an appeal on the ground that there should be one great central depository for the convenience of research workers and their particular institution is the one desirable center for this objective. Some of these institutions are handsomely endowed so that offers of money accompany the solicitation for the materials. The Director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History takes it as an official duty to plead with the people of Alabama to deposit in the archives of their own State the type of material solicited by these outside agencies. Inasmuch as these institutions are rivaling each other for this so called "central depository of research material" it is clearly evident that no one of them can achieve this end. The University of Texas, the University of North Carolina, the Duke University, the University of Pennsylvania, and various other institutions are competing with each other.

For thirty years the Alabama State Department of Archives and History has been pleading with the people of this State to preserve their historical materials, such as old letters descriptive of life and times in peace and war, old diaries, old family Bible records, minute books of religious denominations, old pamphlets, newspapers and the like. This agency has brought together a remarkable collection of this type of research materials which are constantly being used by students of history, especially men and women who are writing on Southern historical subjects for their Masters and Ph.D. degrees from the great colleges and universities of the United States.

The Legislature of 1927 provided an annual appropriation for the purchase of fire proof, and water proof steel file cases, in which the archives of the State and the historical materials referred to above that have been given by individuals to the collection may be placed in an organized manner. The Legislature of 1931 will be asked to provide an adequate fire proof building in which not only the historical records of Alabama will be preserved but where the historical portrait gallery, the extensive historical reference library, numerous types of museums, etc., will be housed. Every citizen of the State is urged to co-operate with the Department of Archives and History in its effort to preserve the history of our people from the beginning to the present day. There

is no reason why Alabama materials should go to other States to enrich their collections when our own State so eagerly desires them and so carefully preserves them.

It is a known fact that almost daily valuable historical materials are destroyed either intentionally in a general "house cleaning" or accidentally by fire, rats, etc. Alabamians should take stock of their family collections and report to the Director of the Department of Archives and History what they have in their possession. If the owners are not willing to part with these collections they might lend them to the Department to be copied or photostated. Correspondence on this subject is invited. The attention of the press is called to this condition and its unfailing co-operation in giving publicity to these conditions is confidently expected.

* * * *

The modern writer of poetry is permitted to make his individual "pattern". Mrs. Elizabeth Winston Sheehan (Mrs. Will T.) author of a series of articles now running through the *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, tells her story in prose and then turns it into ballads because it is believed that the poetic form is helpful to the memory in preserving historical facts. It is for that reason that Mrs. Sheehan has been requested to make her own "pattern" for these historical narratives. In the ballad "Alabama's Secession Flag" it is to be noted that the first line of each verse gives a picture that is elaborated in the four following lines. The ballad was the old method of telling folk-stories, made popular by the minstrels, and the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* feels that it is fortunate in having a member of its staff who can successfully bring together historical data and present the findings in comprehensive form and reproduce the facts in rhyme. Mrs. Sheehan's ballad "The Flag of Alabama" is more conventional in form than the other flag poem but no less pleasing and useful in teaching the history of our State banner.

* * * *

The Editor of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is highly gratified at the friendly comment given the magazine by the press and correspondence. One writer declares: "The *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is the most interesting periodical of its nature I have ever had the pleasure of reading. This opinion is shared by everybody I have permitted to read the magazine."

Another writes: "The *Quarterly* is splendid! I am overjoyed that you have at last some medium of disseminating the rich store of the State's archives. I can think of no more welcomed addition to the public store of Southern history and Alabama happenings than the new *Quarterly*."

S. B. Holland, Chief of the Division of Fine Arts of the Library of Congress, writes: "Your magazine does truly cover a wide range of historical interests. I should think that there would be few Alabamians, with any intellectual interest at all who would not find something of interest in it."

Dr. Hallie Farmer, Dean of History, Alabama College, writes: "The first number seems to me to be very strong and full of interest. It shows the thought and labor which has been taken in the collecting and editing of the material. The Department has put the history people of the State in its debt."

Mrs. James M. Burt, State President, U. D. C., writes: "The Spring edition of your *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is splendid. I believe it will fill a long felt want and will receive a hearty welcome from all Alabamians."

James K. Greer, History Department, Howard College, writes: "The *Quarterly* has been enjoyed as an attractive, informative, and interesting journal. Many nice compliments, on this the first number, have reached my ears. I shall eagerly await the appearance of the next number."

MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN.



MISS CAROLINE THEUS RAOUL
(See Page 28)

Banner of Our State

By ANNIE SOUTHERNE TARDY

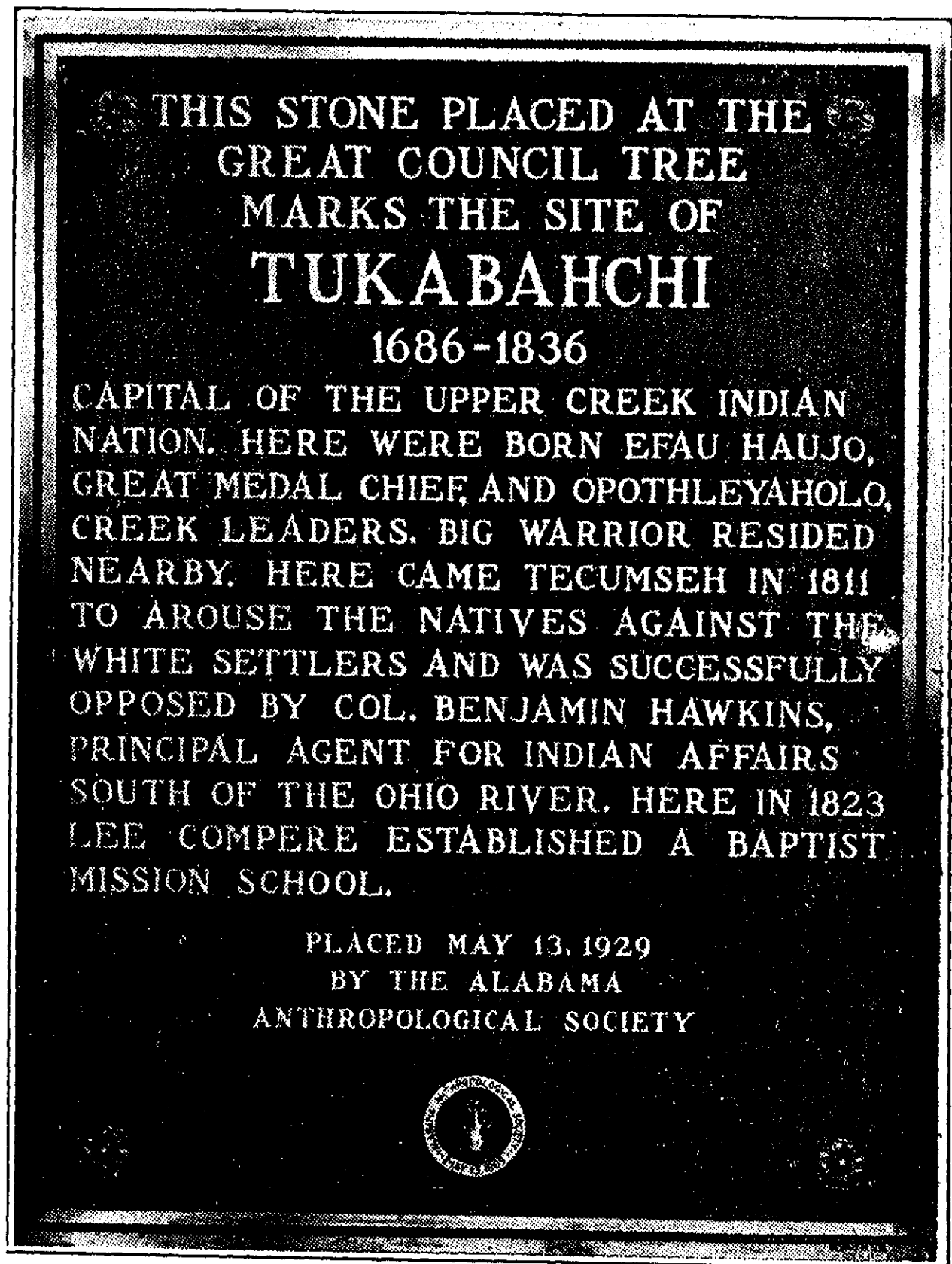
OUR SOULS revere you, banner of our state!
The purity of your fair field enfolds
Our hearts. Your crimson cross in memory holds
The honor of the past inviolate.
War's tragedy is gone and fortunate,
Glad Peace abides with us, within her smile
We rest. No vicious weapon shall defile
The flag we love, and serve, and venerate.

Then spread your gorgeous colors to the breeze!
Waft to and fro the white, waft to and fro
The red. In exultation loyal, true,
All future foe and danger to appease,
We join in sacred oratorio,
And pledge our love, our lives, our all, to you!

ALABAMA HISTORY IN MONUMENTS

By MARIE BANKHEAD OWEN

There are many evidences that Alabama is becoming history-conscious. Monuments in the form of great stone boulders bearing bronze tablets inscribed with historical data, have been placed in the last few months on historic spots by the Alabama Society of the Colonial Dames of America; the Alabama Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, and by the Alabama Anthropological Society. The first of the historic roadside markers has also been placed by the D. A. R.'s. Included in these commemorated spots are the site of the old Indian town of Tukabahchi; the site of the home of the Scotch-Indian Chief, Alexander McGillivray; the site of the old Indian town of Tawasa and the road leading to Fort Toulouse. Three of these markers are in Elmore County and one in Montgomery County.



Bronze Tablet on Stone Boulder.

TUKABAHCHI

Tukabahchi, which is given this form of spelling by Dr. John R. Swanton, authority on the American Indian, is sometimes spelled

Tuk-a-batch-i.¹ It was an Upper Creek town located in Elmore County, on the west bank of the Tallapoosa River, two and a half miles below the falls and the modern town of Tallassee. The meaning of the word is uncertain but the inhabitants had a tradition that their ancestors fell from the skies or came from the sun. Another story is that they did not originate on this continent. Tukabahchi being the ancient capital of the Upper Creeks several national councils were held there. It was there, on Nov. 7, 1799, that the classification of the towns was made, and for which warriors were appointed. It is believed by some students that the town included a number of Shawnees. It is known that it suffered much in wars with the Chickasaws. The census of 1832 ranks Tukabahchi as the largest among the Creek towns, with 385 houses. By the land cession of March 24, 1832, the Creek Nation agreed to give up their claim to all lands east of the Mississippi River and remove to territory set aside for them in the Arkansas Territory. The site of old Tukabahchi in the course of time became the property of Walter E. Sistrunk and now belongs to the firm of Greil Brothers of Montgomery.

The Site Marked

A motorcade made up of members of the Alabama Anthropological Society and other Montgomerians interested in history, joined the Tallassee motorcade and reached the spot where the ceremonies of marking the site were to take place at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Addresses were made by Dr. H. B. Battle, Peter A. Brannon, Judge M. S. Carmichael, C. B. Smith, C. W. Woodall and Dr. M. W. Sterling, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, D. C., who had come to Alabama especially for the occasion.

The monument was unveiled by Mrs. Kate Sistrunk Baldwin. At the conclusion of the exercises Rev. S. R. Twiddy pronounced the benediction. Those whose names are commemorated upon the bronze tablet as having been born on that site or participated in historical events connected therewith, have so long passed to the great beyond that a brief sketch of each will not be amiss in this article.

Efau Hadjo²

Efau Hadjo, or Mad Dog, was the speaker of the Creek Nation at the Treaty of Ft. Wilkinson in 1802. Col. Benjamin Hawkins said

¹See Owen's Hist. of Ala. & Dict. of Ala. Biog., Vol. 1, p. 1332.

²Ibid: Vol. II, p. 743.

of him in 1799: "He is one of the great medal chiefs, the speaker of the Nation at the national council. He is one of the best informed men of the land, and faithful to his national engagements."

*Opothleyaholo*³

Opothleyaholo, another native of Tuckabatchee,⁴ was considered a promising youth and rose to the position of Speaker of the council of the Upper Creek towns. His first public service was in February 1825, at the treaty of Indian Spring, whither he went as the representative of the Upper Creeks to remonstrate with Gen. Wm. McIntosh, against the cession of any part of the Creek country. In his speech before the commissioners, he told them that the chiefs present had no authority to cede lands, which could only be done in full council and with the consent of the whole nation, and that this was not a full council. He warned Gen. McIntosh of the doom that awaited him if he signed the treaty. After giving this warning he left the grounds for home and McIntosh signed the treaty and paid for his action with his life.

Opothleyaholo was at the head of the Creek Chiefs that soon after went to Washington to protest against the validity of this treaty and to execute one that would be more suitable to his people. In all the negotiations that followed, it is said that he conducted himself with great dignity and firmness and displayed talents of a superior order. He was successful in having the Indian Spring treaty ceding Indian lands to the government abrogated and a new treaty made. During the disorders of 1836 Opothleyaholo arrayed the warriors of Tuckabatchee against the insurgent towns, thereby showing himself a friend of order. At the request of Governor C. C. Clay, he called a council of his warriors and marched to Talladega, where he joined the forces of Gen. Jessup in command of the regular U. S. troops. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel and placed in command of the Indian troops. With this show of force peace was soon restored.

Following these disorders the Creeks made an enforced emigration westward and Opothleyaholo went with them, still continuing in the office as Chief Speaker in the Creek councils. At the outbreak of the War Between the States the Creeks divided, some joining the Confederate side, led by the McIntoshes, and others the Federal side, led by Opothleyaholo. The partisan feeling was so strong between

³Ibid: Vol. II, p. 739.

⁴Note several forms of spelling the name.

these two factions that they fell into strife amongst themselves. Opothleyaholo with his followers retired to Coffee County, Kansas, where he died shortly after the close of the War Between the States.

*Big Warrior*⁵

Big Warrior, who married the deserted wife of Efau Hadjo, sometimes spelled Efa Hadjo, a very prominent Creek Chief, lived near Tuckabatchee. His first recorded appearance in public life was at the treaty of Coleraine, in June, 1796, his next appearance at the Treaty of Ft. Wilkinson, in June, 1802. He became Speaker of the Upper Creeks about 1812, on the death of Efau Hadjo. During Tecumseh's visit in 1811, he made several efforts to detach Big Warrior from his friendly attitude towards the United States but failed in his efforts. He did all in his power to induce the hostile chiefs to go over to the side of the Federal government. Knowing that the hostiles had decreed his death, Big Warrior built for himself and followers a fort at Tuckabatchee, which he filled with supplies. Here he was besieged a number of times by the red sticks until 200 warriors from Coweta came to his relief, and carried him and all of his people safe to Coweta, which became the great place of refuge for the friendly Creeks during the Creek Indian War of 1813-14. Albert J. Pickett, the first historian of Alabama, states that Big Warrior was present at Weatherford's surrender to Gen. Jackson at Ft. Jackson in 1814 following the Battle of the Horseshoe Bend. Four months later, as Speaker of the Upper Creeks, he was one of the signers of the peace treaty at Fort Jackson. Before signing the treaty he made an address to Gen. Jackson in which, in the name of the Creek Nation, he tendered donations of land and money, to Col. Hawkins, the Creek Agent, and to George Mayfield and Alexander Cornells, Creek interpreters. Big Warrior was also a signer of the treaties of the Creek Agency, Jan. 22, 1818, and of the Treaty of Indian Spring, Jan. 8, 1821. He died in Washington, D. C., in 1824, while in attendance there with a delegation of his people. Gen. Wm. Woodward in his reminiscences of early Alabama describes Big Warrior as the largest man he had ever seen among the Creeks and as spotted as a leopard.

*Rev. Lee Compere*⁶

The Rev. Lee Compere, whose name also appears upon the bronze tablet marking the site of old Tuckabatchee, was a Missionary Baptist

⁵Ibid: Vol II, p. 139.

⁶Ibid: Vol. 1, p. 389.

preacher who was born in Leicestershire, England, November 3, 1790, and died in Corsicana, Texas, June 15, 1871. He was of Huguenot descent. He was ordained for the ministry at the age of 19 and in 1816, was sent by his church as a missionary to Jamaica. The next year he emigrated to South Carolina in which State he served several pastorates. He removed to Georgia where he resided until 1822, when he was appointed to the Board of Managers of the Georgia Baptist Association as superintendent of mission work among the Creek Indians. This mission was established at Tuckabatchee on a site given by the Creeks whose chiefs were generally favorable to the missionary on account of his school for the Indian children. They were averse, however, to his preaching and threw every obstruction in the way of his religious work. Rev. Compere became so sympathetic with the Indians that he lost favor with the mission board.

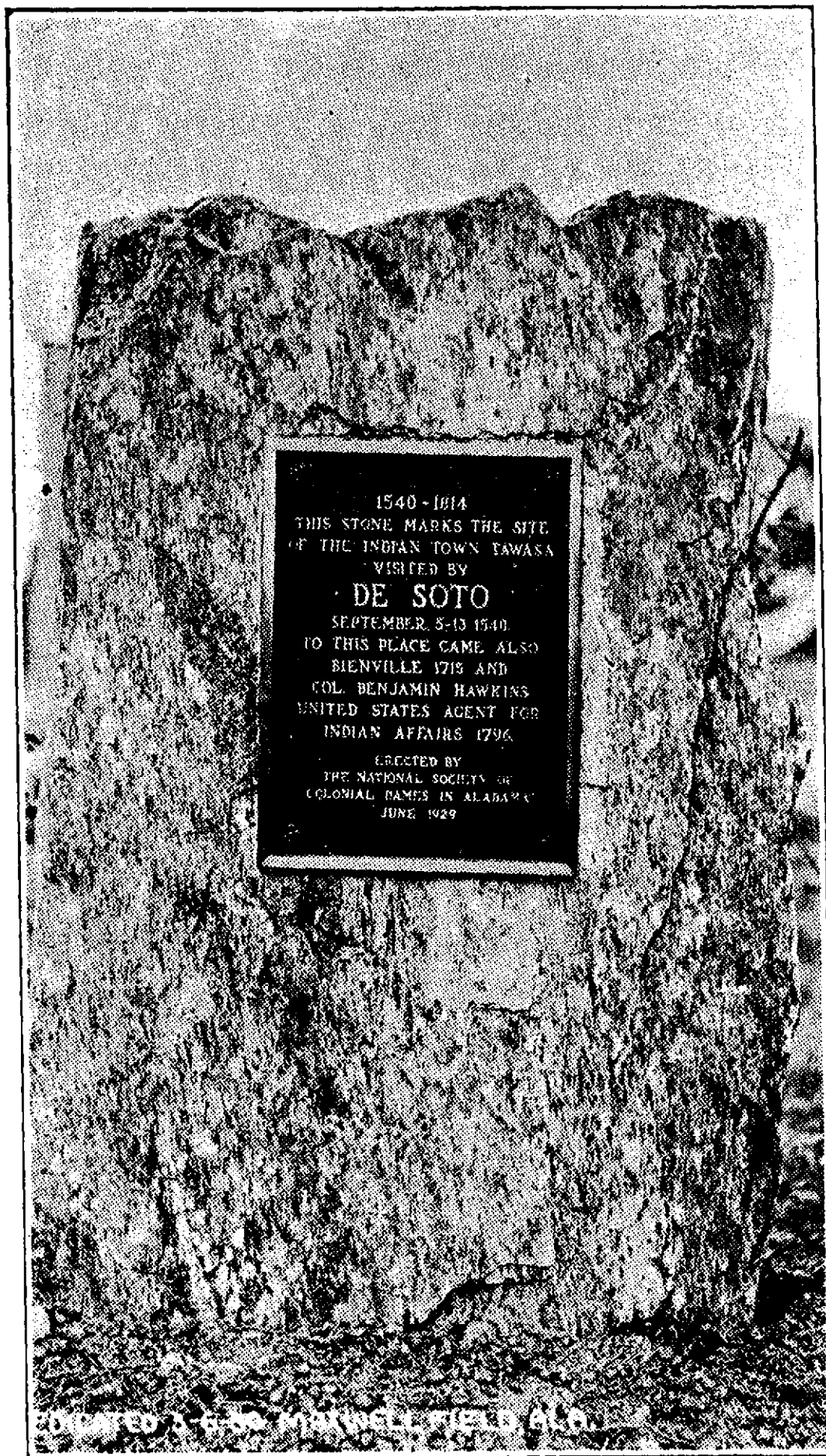
While he was acting as missionary to the Creeks at Tuckabatchee the Rev. Mr. Compere set up a small church in Montgomery County, Reheboth. In 1829 his position becoming so unsatisfactory he bought a farm in Montgomery County. During that year he presided over the Alabama Baptist State Convention and preached the annual sermon. In the fall he founded the first Baptist Church of Montgomery and was its pastor for four years. About the beginning of 1834, he inherited some means with which he purchased a plantation in Powell County, Mississippi. In his new State he continued to preach in and out of season and served several pastorates. At the beginning of the War Between the States, he moved to Arkansas, where, being a Southern sympathizer, he suffered greatly from Federal ruffianism, being robbed a number of times and physically mistreated. Finally making his escape his home was burned including his valuable library, memoirs of his life and all of his possessions. He removed to Texas where he died. He was the author of a history of the Creek Indians in which he incorporated much of their traditional history as given to him by their Chiefs. The fate of this manuscript is unknown. He was also the author of a number of hymns and a vocabulary of the Muskogee Indian language.

*Tecumseh*¹

The Shawnee Chief, Tecumseh, was born near Springfield, Ohio, about 1768, and died in 1813. About 1805 he formed the design of uniting the tribes of Western Indians against the whites, claiming

¹Americana Encyclopaedia.

that the land treaties between individual tribes and the settlers were void, inasmuch as the land was the common property of all the tribes and could be alienated only by unanimous assent. Taking advantage of the unsettled conditions produced by land agents British representatives fanned the dissatisfaction, expecting to make allies of the Indians



Marking Site of Tawasa, Montgomery County.

in the inevitable war between the British and the Americans which was to come to pass in 1812. Following the attack at Tippecanoe in 1811, Tecumseh came to Alabama, of which State his mother was a native. His mission was to incite the Creek Indians against the Americans who had come into what is now Alabama, to set up homes and communities. Tecumseh's motives in attempting to arouse the Indians against the whites have been questioned. Some think he was truly patriotic in his desire to see the natives of the country hold to their lands, while others believe that he was the agent of the British, as he later held the rank of Brigadier General in the British army, leading 2,000 Indians at the siege of Ft. Meigs, Ohio, where he commanded the right wing at the Thames, where he was killed. Historians, including Drake, in his "Life of Tecumseh," declare that he was possessed of great qualities of leadership.

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British army, leading

*Tawasa*⁸

The Alabama Society of the Colonial Dames of America, under authority of the War Department, placed a six ton granite boulder bearing a bronze tablet suitably inscribed at the site of the old Indian town of Tawasa, on March 6, 1930. This old town site is on the Maxwell Field Military Reservation and the boulder was placed to Commemorate the visit of DeSoto to the Indian town of Tawasa in 1540. The inscription states also that the site was visited by Bienville and by Col. Benjamin Hawkins, U. S. Agent for Indian affairs. The boulder, which was presented to the Colonial Dames by the Alabama Power Co., is located at the junction of the Birmingham Highway with the old Selma Road.

Mrs. Alexander Pitts, of Selma, President of the Alabama Society of Colonial Dames, presided at the exercises. Mrs. John Lewis Cobbs acted as Chairman of the local committee, assisted by Mrs. David Riley Cook. The historical address was made by Peter A. Brannon. Rev. Donald MacGuire, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Montgomery, pronounced the invocation. Major Walter Weaver, commanding Maxwell Field, accepted the boulder in behalf of the War Department and pledged its care and protection. This marker is the first to be erected on the route of DeSoto's travels through Alabama. Journalists accompanying the Spanish Invader recorded that they spent a week at Tawasa. All that remains of the original town site is an Indian mound about a half mile from the marker.

History Of Tawasa

Tawasa, occupied by the Alibamu, or Alabama Indians, was situated in Montgomery County, upon a high bluff three miles below another Indian town site, Ecunchati. An evidence of the prosperity of the inhabitants of Tawasa is that DeSoto's party consisting of almost a thousand men and 700 horses, a drove of hogs and a number of blood hounds, could be subsisted for a week at this site. Upon their departure, most likely under compulsion, the Spaniards were furnished pack carriers consisting of 32 women who went with the invaders as slaves.

At some subsequent time the people of Tawasa, or a part of them, migrated to the southeast and became one of those tribes called Apalachicolis by the Spaniards who afterwards settled in Florida. These same Alibamu Indians, receiving no help from the Spaniards,

⁸Ibid: Vol. II, p. 1304.

went to Fort Mobile, located twenty-seven miles above the present city of that name, where they were kindly received by Bienville, the French commander, who gave them land and settled them around the fort. The new comers brought with them all their household effects and corn with which to plant their fields. These former inhabitants of Tawasa were good hunters, and repaid Bienville's kindness by daily bringing to the fort all kinds of wild game. When the French moved to the new Fort Mobile, the present site of the city of that name, in 1710, they located the Indians near the confluence of Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers. How long they remained on Mobile River is not known. They were still living there in 1716, according to the church register of the Mobile Catholic Church.

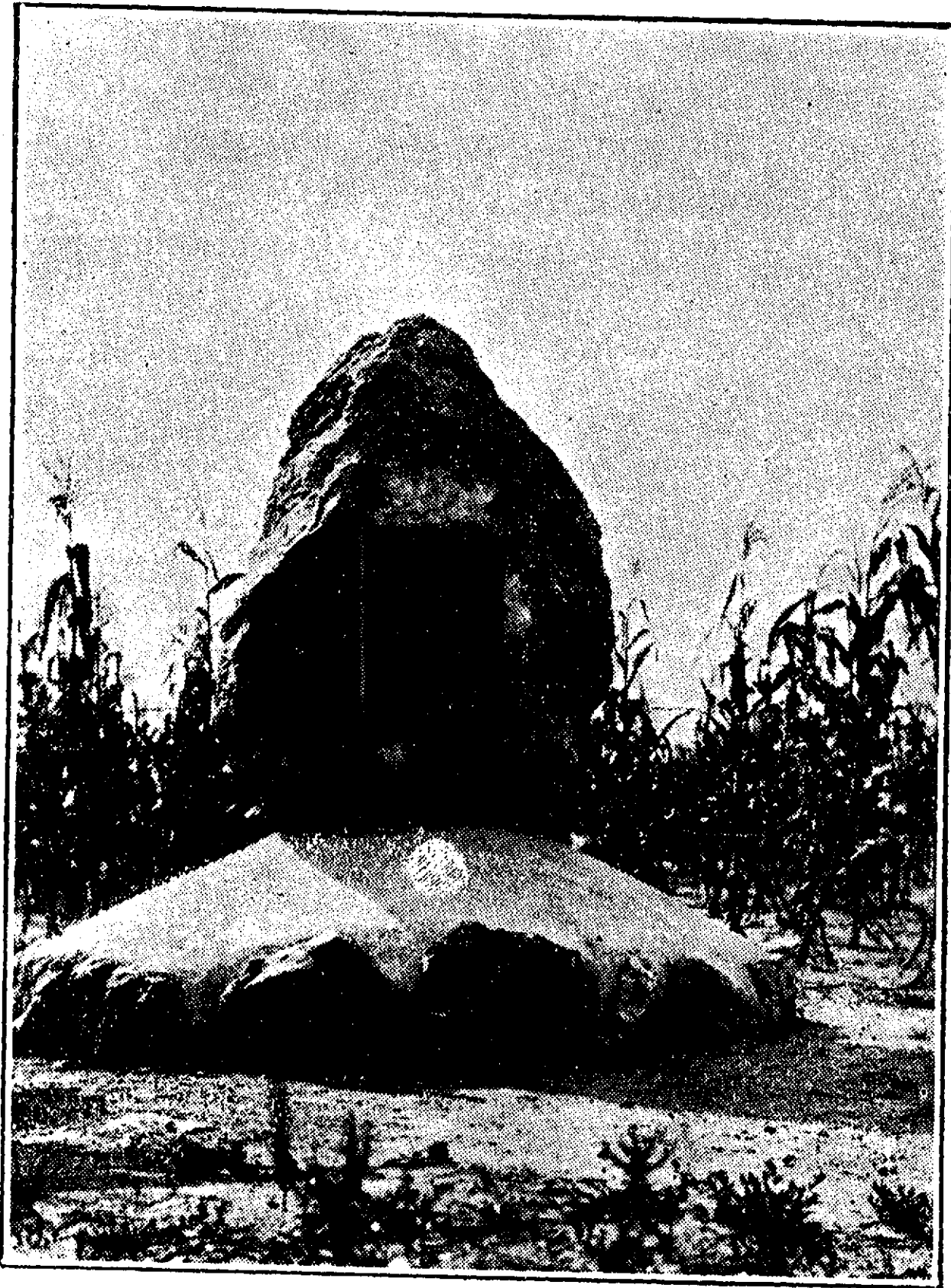
There is in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, a manuscript written about 1707, by Robert Beverly, the Virginia historian, in which a brief account of the Tawasa Indians as related by a captive, Lambatty, a Tawasa Indian, states that in 1706 Tawasa consisted of ten villages, or Nations as they are called by Lambatty. In that year the Tuscaroras made war upon them, destroyed three of the villages and carried their people off into slavery. In the spring of the following year the Tuscaroras again made their appearance, and swept away three more of their villages and the inhabitants of three other villages fled. It was in the second raid that Lambatty was captured. It will be noticed that in this narrative he tells of the fate of nine villages. Historians believe that the Tawasa Indians who fled to the protection of Bienville at Mobile made the tenth of these villages.

MCGILLIVRAY PLANTATION MARKER

Near Thelma Baptist Church, four miles north of Wetumpka, Elmore County, a boulder marking the site of the McGillivray plantation, and bearing a suitable inscription, was placed by the Alabama Anthropological Society, Wednesday, May 21, 1930. The exercises were presided over by Robert B. Burnham, President of the Society, and others taking part in the program were: Rev. E. A. Norris, J. Bruce Airey, Peter A. Brannon and Olvie Henderson. The historical address was made by the Hon. Ray Rushton, of Montgomery. Citizens of Wetumpka assisted the Society in bearing the expense of the monument. The site was given by the owner of the land, Mr. G. B. Henderson.

As early as 1740 Lachlan McGillivray, a Scotch trader among the Indians, settled four miles above the falls of the Coosa River and married Sehoy, daughter of Capt. Marchand and that other romantic

young Indian Princess, Sehoy, spoken of as the "Princess of the Wind." It was through this marriage that the son of Lachlan McGillivray, Alexander,⁹ could lay claim to French and British blood as well as that of the ruling line of the Creeks. Alexander was either born at Fort Toulouse or Taskigi, the Indian town one half mile below the old French



McGillivray Plantation Marker.

Fort Toulouse. He died February 17, 1793, at Pensacola, Fla. The young Scot, Lachlan McGillivray, had come to South Carolina at the age of 16 and joined a party of Indian traders in 1735. Having been loyal to the British during the Revolutionary War he realized that his possessions would probably be seized by the United States. He therefore returned to Scotland, leaving his wife and children, his planta-

tion and worldly possessions, in the hope that his family might be allowed to fall into their possession. This hope, however, failed or fruition as the U. S. Government seized his property and left his family in destitute circumstances.

Alexander McGillivray was educated at Charleston, S. C. In 1784 he was known as the Emperor of the Creeks and Seminoles and negotiated the treaty with Spain at Pensacola. He visited President Washington at New York in 1790, and was appointed agent of the

⁹Ibid: Vol. IV, p. 1118.

United States, with the rank of Brigadier General. Shortly afterward the King of Spain appointed him Superintendent General of the Creek Nation for Spain. At the same time he was a member of the firm of Panton's, merchants of Pensacola. His principal residence was at Little Talasi, five miles above the present site of Wetumpka, on the Coosa River, on what was later known as the Howell Rose plantation. In addition to that homestead he owned a place on Little River which was known as "Cowpen", and still another at Hickory Ground, on the left bank of the Coosa River, two miles above Fort Toulouse, and below the present site of Wetumpka. He had three wives and left three children, Alexander, Jr., and two daughters.

Although the marker that was placed on the site of the old McGillivray home commemorates the history of that Indian leader the history of Howell Rose, who later owned the plantation, is scarcely of less interest.

*Howell Rose*¹⁰

Howell Rose, a lawyer by profession, and also a planter, was a member of the Senate of the first Alabama Legislature, a man of unique personality who by fine management accumulated a fortune. He was born in North Carolina about 1791, and died in Elmore County in 1866. No facts have been preserved of his early life, other than that his parents were in modest circumstances. He moved with them to Putnam County, Ga., and there grew to manhood. On obtaining his majority he became an overseer on a plantation and not long afterwards became a planter and merchant in Eatonton, from which place he removed to Alabama about 1816, and settled upon the land formerly belonging to the McGillivrays. During the next twenty years he accumulated plantations in Autauga, Lowndes, Coosa and the present Elmore County. From 1843 to 1847 he represented Coosa County in the General Assembly. In 1846, as a member of the Legislature, he used his efforts towards removing the Capital from Tuscaloosa to Wetumpka, stubbornly yielding the final selection to Montgomery. He was a Democrat of the Jackson school and was opposed to Secession but quietly yielded to the decision of his State. His well known wealth attracted the attention of the invading troops during the War Between the States, and a number of ruffians from the Federal army visited his home and demanded the delivery of his hoarded gold. Upon his refusal to yield to their orders he was hanged

¹⁰Ibid: Vol. IV, p. 1462.

and cruelly mistreated. He was rescued from his perilous position by friends but never thoroughly recovered from the treatment he received. He married in Putnam County, Ga., a Miss Bryant, but no children were born of this union.

FORT TOULOUSE ROADSIDE MARKER

At its annual meeting in the Spring of 1930, the Alabama Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, passed a resolution offered by the Francis Marion Chapter of Montgomery, pledging the organiza-



D. A. R. Roadside Marker.

tion to a program of roadside markers indicating the location of historic spots. The first one of these roadside markers was placed by the Francis Marion Chapter on the Montgomery - Wetumpka Highway and unveiled with appropriate exercises on Flag Day, June 14th, 1930. The marker was placed at the intersection of the highway and the County road that leads to what has been designated by the Daughters of the American Revolution as the most historic spot in Alabama—Fort Toulouse. This site is three miles south of Wetumpka and thirteen miles from Montgomery. The marker is made of metal with black letters against an aluminum background.

The Peter Forney Chapter of Montgomery, co-operated with the Francis Marion Chapter in the exercises. Mrs. D. W. Troy, Regent of the Francis Marion Chapter, presided. The ritual was conducted jointly by Mrs. Troy and Mrs. D. C. Trevarthen, Regent of the Peter Forney Chapter. The historical address was made by Judge M. S.

Carmichael. Mrs. Harry S. Houghton, Chairman of the Committee on Marking Historic Spots for the Francis Marion Chapter, was active in bringing the project of roadside marking by patriotic organizations to a successful fruition. Dr. P. N. McDonald delivered the Flag Day address. The marker was unveiled by Miss Jane Troy.

*Fort Toulouse*¹¹

Fort Toulouse was a French fortified post on the east bank of the Coosa River, about a mile above its junction with the Tallapoosa and four miles down the river from the present town of Wetumpka, Elmore County, Ala. It is said to have been built at the invitation of the principal chief of the Alibamons, during a war between the English and the Creeks. Such an opportunity was immediately seized, and Bienville is credited with erecting the fort in 1714. It was first called by the French "Aux Alibamons", but was later changed to Toulouse, in honor of Comte Toulouse, son of Louis XIV, and head of the French Navy. The chief object of the French in locating the fort was to form a center from which to control the Indians and as a trading post. The first commandant was Mandeville. He had several successors until 1722 when Capt. Marchand was placed in command. While located there this young French officer married Sehoy, daughter of Sehoy, the woman ruler of the tribe of the Wind. The French soldiers of the fort mutinied and killed the commander, later being captured and forfeiting their lives for their crime.

Marchand and Sehoy became the parents of a third Sehoy, who later married the Scotch trader, Lachlan McGillivray, and became the mother of Col. Alexander McGillivray. Numerous romantic and heroic traditions cluster about the history of old Fort Toulouse. As long as the French remained in possession of Alabama this fort held an important place with that Nation and the Indians. After the treaty of Paris, when France ceded all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River to the English, the French spiked the cannon and destroyed much of the property before they abandoned the fort. The British garrison that was placed in command of the fort was finally ordered to abandon it and it fell into ruins. It was, however, in a sufficient state of preservation to be of use to Gen. Andrew Jackson in 1814, when at the close of the Creek Indian War he marched his forces to the site and pitched his tents. Gen. Jackson caused the fort to be repaired and established a cantonment. On August 9, 1814, the treaty was signed there

¹¹Ibid: Vol. II, pp. 1320-1.

between the Creeks and Gen. Jackson on behalf of the United States, and the site was then locally designated as Fort Jackson.

It was from the banks of the Coosa River at this spot that a number of Gen. Jackson's troops set out in flat boats for New Orleans, later forming a part of the American forces that fought the British successfully on the Plains of Chalmette.

Because of its historic associations the State of Alabama purchased five acres of land in the heart of the reservation, at Fort Toulouse, and on July 25, 1912, a granite shaft was erected on the spot by the Colonial Dames of Alabama under the leadership of Mrs. Harvey E. Jones, to commemorate notable events of which the old fort was the center. A small marker was placed on the site May 21, 1915, by the Peter Forney Chapter, D. A. R., to commemorate the presence of Gen. Jackson and his men at that place. On June 14, 1930, the Peter Forney Chapter, D. A. R., with formal ceremonies, placed the insignia of the order upon the grave of Isaac Ross, a Revolutionary soldier who lived at Ft. Jackson and prophesied that on that spot would some day be built a great city.

TAWASA PLAIN

By ANNIE SOUTHERNE TARDY

*(Marking the DeSoto Trail Through Alabama, At
Maxwell Aviation Field.)*

Here came DeSoto, full four hundred years
Ago, to seek new wealth. With him were bold
Adventurers, wild Spanish Cavaliers,
All richly panoplied; their hearts cajoled
By roseate dreams of pleasure multiplied.
Through dismal swamp and tangled forest-moss,
Alluring fantasy their only guide,
They fought their way, unheeding pain or loss.
Tawasa village and its friendly chief
Gave respite. Alabama's wooded plain,
Her healing springs, gave fevered brows relief
And courage fresh, their dazzling quest to gain.
Today—a train of progress marks the trail.
Intrepid birds with man-made wings cut through
The skies. Great thunderous steel-girt cars assail
The solitude that once DeSoto knew.
But still Tawasa Plain, enduring, vast,
Will link the changing present with the past.

—Written for the Alabama Historical Quarterly.

OUR STATE FLAGS

By ELIZABETH WINSTON SHEEHAN

"Ours" is a full, heart-warming word. It has all the proud possessiveness of "mine" with none of its implied selfishness. "Ours" is a big, round word, and generous enough to gather into its content spiritual values surmounting mere material possession.

"This land is *mine!*" the Pioneer claimed as he set his stakes along the majestic rivers and sparkling streams of the Creek country, and the log cabin he built on the Southwestern frontier was *his* to have and to hold, with an accent on the "hold". A pioneer must have the will and strength to acquire, and the tenacity to say "mine". But there comes a time when shoulder to shoulder with companions we learn to say "*our* children—*our* home—*our* town—*our* state." Then is the need of an emblem to symbolize all this unselfish love and pride, something which stands for what is peculiarly *ours*, something to live for and to die for, and we salute "Our Flag!"

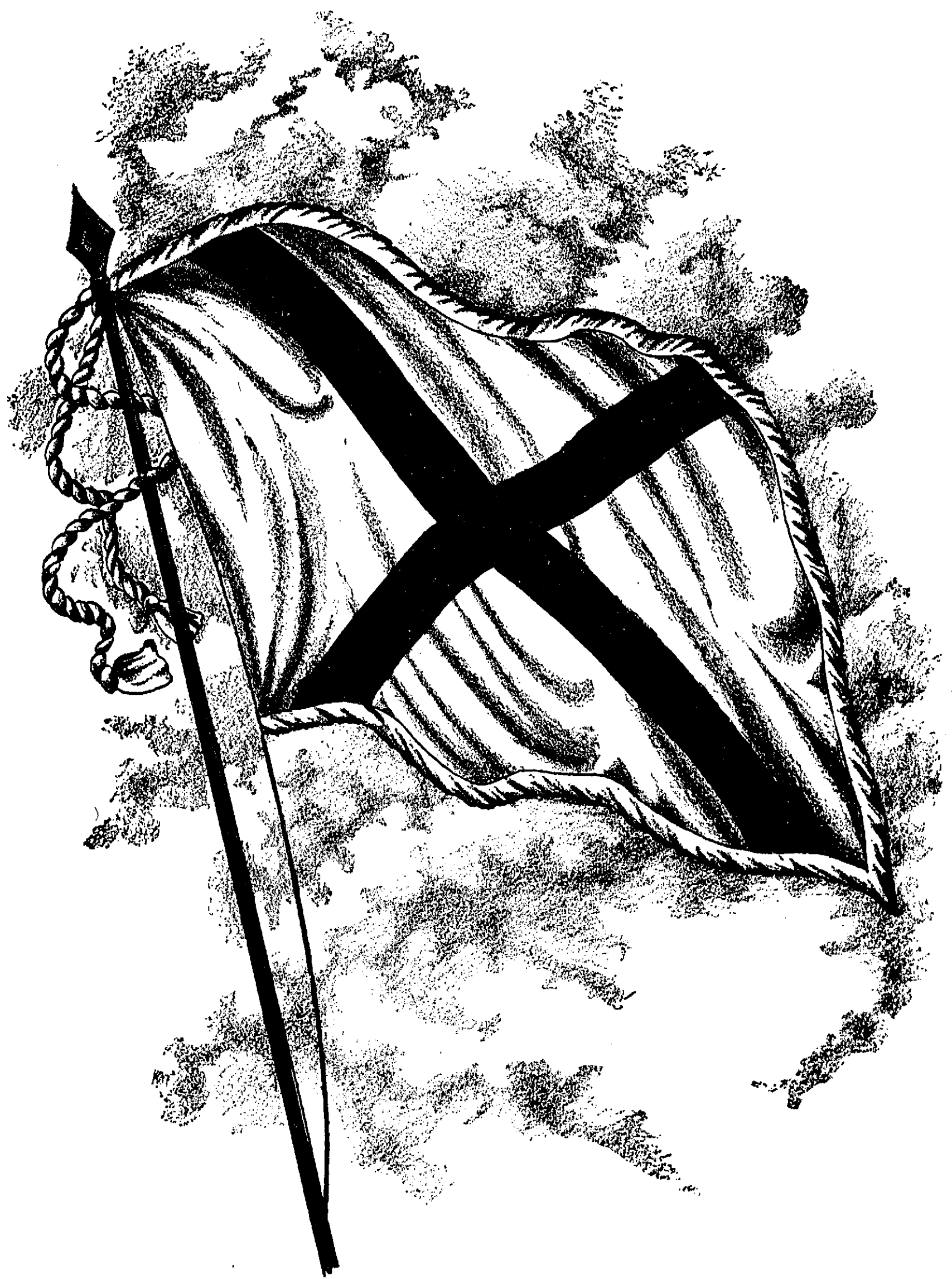
Pioneers coming into the Mississippi Territory brought with them aged parents, veterans of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and planted the Star Spangled Banner one state further on in what was then considered "the wild domain of the West".¹ Alabama, becoming a state, distinguished herself with a State Seal, showing her many noble rivers, but until 1860 she had no wish for any other flag than the one for which the American Patriots had always fought.

MILITARY FLAG

But with the secession idea brewing, the Alabama Legislature passed February 24, 1860, a new military bill, looking to the building up of a volunteer army for service in the event of Lincoln's election. In its 17th section, this bill carried provision for the adoption of a State Flag, the commission designated to be composed of the Governor (A. B. Moore), the Adjutant and Inspector General, and the Quartermaster General.

Reviewing the anti-secession newspapers of that year one realized the general unpopularity of the "Standing Army Bill" with its demand for a military tax and a new flag. The *Southern Advocate*, of Huntsville, under date of August 15, 1860, carries a letter signed "Alabama,"

¹Demopolis, the City of the People, by J. W. Beason.



FLAG OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA

Adopted February 16, 1895

quoted in part as follows: "The 17th Section vests the Governor, Adjutant and Inspector General, and Quartermaster General, with Dictatorial powers and requires them to adopt a State flag and prescribe a uniform for the volunteer corps. The old banner which waved over Washington at Yorktown, Jackson at New Orleans, and Winfield Scott on the hill of Chapultepec, had become distasteful to the Legislature of Alabama, and the Governor and his Military Commission are empowered to erase the Stars and Stripes from its glorious folds, and parade their 'Volunteer Corps' under a nameless rag which is to be christened on some field of fraternal strife, and which if it becomes memorable at all will be memorable only as an emblem of folly and madness and wickedness combined."

However, a design was chosen, and many of the new flags made ready for the announcement of Alabama's secession, and when on January 11, 1861, Alabama withdrew from the Union, she had need, for a short time before her confederation with other seceding states, of a flag. Immediately after the Ordinance of Secession was passed, a resolution was adopted removing secrecy from the proceedings of the Convention, and the doors of the Hall were thrown open.

Hon. William Russell Smith, one of the delegates from Tuscaloosa, writes:²

"It would be difficult to describe with accuracy the scenes that presented themselves in and around the Capitol during this day. A vast crowd had assembled in the rotunda, eager to hear the announcement of the passage of the Ordinance. In the Senate Chamber, within the hearing of the Convention, the citizens and visitors had called a meeting; and the company was there addressed by several distinguished orators, on the great topic which was then engrossing the attention of the Convention. The wild shouts and the rounds of raptuous applause that greeted the speakers in this impromptu assembly, often broke in upon the ear of the Convention, and startled the grave solemnity that presided over its deliberations.

"Guns had been made ready to herald the news, and flags had been prepared, in various parts of the city, to be hoisted upon a signal.

"When the door's were thrown open, the lobby and galleries were filled to suffocation in a moment. The ladies were there in crowds, with visible eagerness to participate in the exciting scenes. With them, the love songs of yesterday had swelled into the political hosannas of today.

²History and Debates of the Convention of Alabama, pages 120-122, by Wm. R. Smith.

PRESENTATION OF THE FLAG

"Simultaneously with the entrance of the multitude, a magnificent Flag was unfurled in the centre of the Hall, so large as to reach nearly across the ample chamber! Gentlemen mounted upon tables and desks, held up the floating end, the better thus to be able to display its figures. The cheering was now deafening for some moments. It seemed really that there would be no end to the rapture that had taken possession of the company.

"Mr. Yancey³ addressed the Convention, in behalf of the ladies of Montgomery, who had deputed him to present to the Convention this Flag—the work of the ladies of Alabama. In the course of his speech he described the mottoes and devices of the flag, and paid a handsome tribute to the ardor of female patriotism.

"The writer has to regret that he has been unable to obtain a copy of Mr. Yancey's speech, and that he has no notes from which he can make a satisfactory report of it.

"Mr. Dargan⁴ offered the following resolutions:

'Resolved, That the flag presented by the ladies of Montgomery be received, and that the President of the Convention be requested to return to them the thanks of the Convention.

'Resolved, That the flag shall hereafter be raised upon the Capitol, as indicative whenever the Convention shall be in open session.'

WM. R. SMITH'S SPEECH

"Mr. Smith,⁵ of Tuscaloosa, said:

" 'Mr. President—I was not prepared for this surprise. I knew nothing of this intended presentation. The suddenness with which this gorgeous scene has been displayed before us, overwhelms me with emotions that impel me to give utterance to the sentiments that inspire me.

" 'In looking upon this flag, a thousand memories throng my mind. The battle fields of my country are spread out before me—and amid the smoke and clamor of contending armies, I see floating above a gal-

³William Lowndes Yancey, the great State's Rights leader.

⁴Edmund Spann Dargan, delegate from Mobile Co., advocate of Secession.

⁵William Russell Smith, delegate from Tuscaloosa Co., was opposed to Secession, but yielded to the action of the Convention. He was later Colonel of the 6th Ala. Inf. Reg., C. S. A., and a member of the Confederate Congress 1861-65. He was President of the University of Ala., 1870-71. Resigned to resume practice of law and to do literary work. See Corolla, 1895, Vol. 3, pp. 75-6. Also Owen's History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography, pp. 1597-8.

lant and triumphant soldiery, The Star-Spangled Banner: a flag sacred to memory, embalmed in Southern song—baptized in the best blood of the greatest nations of the earth, and consecrated in history and in poetry as the herald of Liberty's grandest victories on the land and on the sea.

“‘Under the Star-Spangled Banner still float a thousand ships, whose appearance is cheered in every port. Under the Star-Spangled Banner, battles have been won, whose victories, as they adorn the annals of an age, proclaim to posterity the untameable valor of an infant people. Under the Star-Spangled Banner, as the lurid eyes of the British Lion have grown dim, British swords have been surrendered:—and, in later days, in the ancient home of kings, on the dismantled towers of dismembered nations, the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph has been displayed.

“‘In parting, shall we not salute it?

“‘Have we no gratitude for the past? No recollection of the glories that have been achieved under the glittering folds of the Star-Spangled Banner? No thanks for the fame that it has brought to the country? In the memory of the gallant soldiers that lie on the field of death, enshrouded in its folds; in the name of Perry and Decatur, of Lawrence and Jackson, and a long line of illustrious heroes—“Let him who has tears to shed, prepare to shed them now”—*now*, as we lower this glorious ensign of our once vaunted victories.

“‘We accept this Flag. It is presented by the ladies of Alabama. I see upon it, a beautiful female face.

“Oh! woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and sorrow wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou.”

“‘Presented by the daughters of Alabama! The history of the world teaches, that in times of trouble and danger to her country, woman is always in the van. Her heroism is reserved for revolutions. She has been known to tear the jewels from her ears, the diamonds from her neck, and the rings from her fingers, and sell them to buy bread for the starving soldier. Nay, in order to aid a struggling army, we see her cutting away the glorious locks that adorn her beauty, and consent even for them to become the “dowry of a second head”. What wonder, then, that now, in these stirring times, when “grim visaged war” wrin-

kles the brow of Peace—what wonder that the daughters of Alabama should thus endeavor to impart to our veins the burning currents of their own hallowed inspiration!

“We accept this flag; and, though it glows with but a single star, may that star increase in magnitude and brilliancy, until it out rivals the historic glories of the Star-Spangled Banner!”

“Mr. Dargan’s resolutions were adopted, and the President deputed Mr. Baker,⁶ of Barbour, to return the thanks of the Convention to the ladies.

“Mr. Baker ascended the President’s stand, and in a very beautiful and appropriate speech returned to the ladies the thanks of the Convention for their patriotic present. This speech was eminently worthy of preservation. The writer of these pages has made several earnest but unsuccessful efforts to obtain a copy of it for publication.

“Amid the wild enthusiasm that had taken as well possession of the hall as of the streets and the city, the Convention adjourned.

“The roar of cannon was heard at intervals during the remainder of this eventful day.”

From reports of the occasion in the papers of the following day it is known that, “The new flag of Alabama displayed its virgin features from the windows and towers of the surrounding houses; and the finest orators of the State, in harangues of congratulation, commanded until a late hour in the night the attention of shouting multitudes. Every species of enthusiasm prevailed. Political parties, which had so lately been standing in sullen antagonism, seemed for the time to have forgotten their differences of opinion; and one universal glow of fervent patriotism kindled the enraptured community.”

The Montgomery Advertiser of January 12 carried an editorial headed

THE RUBICON IS PASSED

“Yesterday will form a memorable epoch in the history of Alabama. On that day our gallant little State resumed her sovereignty, and became free and independent. So soon as it was announced that the ordinance of secession had passed, the rejoicing commenced, and the people seemed frenzied with excitement. At the moment the beautiful flag presented by the ladies to the Convention was run up on the Capitol, the gun squad began to fire a salute. The beautiful Miss Raoul,⁷ of

⁶Alpheus Baker, delegate from Barbour Co., later Col. 54th Ala. Inf. Reg., C. S. A. Made Brigadier General in 1864.

⁷Miss Caroline Theus Raoul, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Sebastian Raoul, of “Longwood,” Mount Meigs, Alabama.

Mount Meigs, applying the first match, and Chief Justice Walker⁸ the second. Immediately after the first report of the cannon reverberated through the city, the various church bells commenced ringing, and shout after shout might have been heard all along the principal street.

"The flag which now floats from the Capitol is a unique affair. On one side is a representation of the Goddess of Liberty, holding in her right hand a sword unsheathed, and in the left a small flag with one star. In an arch just above this figure are the words ALABAMA—INDEPENDENT NOW AND FOREVER.⁹ On the reverse, the prominent figure is a cotton plant, with a rattlesnake coiled at her roots. Immediately above the snake are the words NOLI ME TANGERE.¹⁰ Also, on the same side, appears the coat of arms of Alabama.

"And speaking of flags, reminds us, that the moment the first gun was fired, we by chance looked in the direction of the palatial residence of our noble hearted fellow citizen, Col. Thomas H. Watts,¹¹ and perceived that he had just thrown to the breeze a beautiful little flag on which a lone star stood out in bold relief. In fact, flags were displayed in nearly every portion of the city.

⁸Abram Joseph Walker, Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Alabama, 1859-1868.

⁹In the Historical Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, there rests in a hermetically sealed case fragments of a flag. The Inventory Card reads as follows: "*Object*—Flag—Confederate. *Description*—First Secession flag hoisted at Montgomery, Ala. Blue ground with pink and white flowers and green leaves. On left side Ala. Banner with 1 star; in gold letters at top "ND FOREVI TANGERE." *Donor*—Koon through Adj. N. B. Baker (Sol. & sail.) Roster gives George B. and Christian Koon, 8th Ia. Cav. *Location room*—Corridor. *Case*—Flag No. 1. *Catalogue*—No. 5. *Intrinsic value*—\$300. Report of Miss Frances Hails, archives clerk of Alabama State Department of Archives and History.

This flag has not been definitely identified with the flag hoisted on the Capitol January 11, 1861, but due to the striking similarities between the two it seems highly probable that this old flag in Des Moines is at least one of the many which flew in Montgomery on that history-making day. In its disintegration, crushed together in a long unopened file case, it is easy to see how scaling gold letters might have left visible only the fragments "ND FOREVI" of the original "NOW AND FOREVER," and "TANGERE" of the Latin phrase "NOLI ME TANGERE".

¹⁰Be Unwilling to Touch Me, or Touch Me Not!

¹¹Thomas Hill Watts, though originally a Union man, on the election of Abraham Lincoln on a purely sectional platform, became a Secessionist and was elected to the Convention of 1861, with Wm. L. Yancey representing Montgomery County. He organized the 17th Alabama Infantry Regiment, C. S. Army, and acted as its colonel until his election as Attorney General for the Confederate government, in April, 1862. Against his wishes he was elected governor of Alabama in August, 1862, filling this position from December, 1863, to the spring of 1865, the most trying period through which the State has ever passed. Soon after the collapse of the Confederate government, Governors Shorter and Watts were taken prisoners and confined in northern prisons. Upon his return to Alabama he opened law offices in Montgomery where he lived until the time of his death in 1892.

"At night the Capitol, theatre, telegraph office, Montgomery Hall, Madison House, Theiss and Pollard's and Glackmeyer & Robinson's drug stores, post office, Linn's Mail, Post and Advertiser Offices, the residence of Col. Edmund Harrison, and also that of John E. Baker, Treasurer of the Alabama and Florida Railroad, and a number of others that we do not remember, were most beautifully illuminated. There was likewise a fine display of fire works, and stirring and patriotic speeches were made in front of the Hall by several distinguished gentlemen to an immense audience, including many ladies. It was indeed a jollification long to be remembered."

THE FIRST CONFEDERATE FLAG

There seems to be no record of how long this Secession Flag was used in Montgomery, but on March 4, 1861, the Provisional Government of the Confederacy adopted the first Confederate flag, and the "Stars and Bars" was flung to the breeze.¹² Judge Alexander B. Clitherall,¹³ of Montgomery, being connected with the Provisional Congress, was enabled to obtain information as to the model which had been chosen by the committee from the numerous designs submitted in advance of the official announcement. He solicited the aid of a number of ladies and a flag was made ready. By this means it was possible, within an hour or two of its adoption, for the first flag of the Confederacy to be raised to the dome of the Capitol. This ceremony was performed by Miss Letitia Christian Tyler,¹⁴ of Montgomery.

This flag, popularly known as the Stars and Bars, consisted of three horizontal bars (2 red and 1 white) and a field of blue with a circle of seven white stars.¹⁵ It satisfied the desire of the people, most of whom wished for a flag suggestive of the Stars and Stripes, but in

¹²"Mrs. Davis reached the city March 4, the day the Confederate flag had been hoisted, according to her Memoir."—History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography, by Thomas M. Owen, Vol. I, p. 331.

¹³Alexander B. Clitherall was temporary private secretary of Jefferson Davis, and assistant secretary of the congress. As secretary to President Davis, Mr. Clitherall bore the first message of the President to the Confederate congress, the original manuscript of which is now in the possession of his family.—Owen's History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography, Vol. III, p. 352.

¹⁴"Miss Tyler was a granddaughter of President John T. Tyler, who served in the provincial congress of the Confederacy, and was elected to its House, but died in Richmond, Va., on Jan. 17, 1862, before taking his seat. See 'The Stars and Stripes and Other Flags,' by Peleg D. Harrison, p. 328.

¹⁵This flag was made of merino, there being no bunting, and no part of it remains except one star, which is said to be now in the possession of a lady of Montgomery.

the dust and smoke of battle it proved to be too similar to that once loved emblem to be a safe guide.

The Richmond Dispatch of December 1, 1861, carried an editorial, a part of which follows:

"The adoption of our present flag was a natural, but most pernicious blunder. As the old flag itself was not the author of our wrongs, we tore off a piece of the *dear old rag* and set it up as a standard. We took it for granted a flag was a divisible thing, and proceeded to set off our proportion. So we took, at a rough calculation, our share of the stars and our fraction of the stripes, and put them together, and called them the 'Confederate flag.' Even as Aaron of old put the gold into the fire, and then came out this calf, so certain stars and stripes went into committee, and then came out this flag. All this was honest and fair to a fault. We were clearly entitled to from seven to eleven of the stars, and three or four of the stripes

"There is but one feature essential to a flag, and this is distinctness. Beauty, appropriateness, good taste, are all desirable; but the only thing indispensable is distinctness,—wide, plain, unmistakable distinction from other flags. Unfortunately, this indispensable thing is just the thing which the Confederate flag lacks; and failing in this, it is a lamentable and total failure, absolute and irredeemable."

Col. William Porcher Miles, Representative from South Carolina in the Provisional Congress, was chairman of a committee for devising a flag. In a letter to General G. T. Beauregard, written from Virginia under date of May 14, 1872, he reviews the description of the four designs from which the first Confederate flag was chosen. Of the fourth he says that it was "A saltire,"¹⁶ as it is called in heraldry, the same as a St. Andrew's cross, of blue, with white margin, or border,

¹⁶Pronounced sāl-tēr.

(a) There are many legends as to the advent of St. Andrew's cross on the flag of Scotland. One story goes that after the martyrdom of St. Andrew at Papras in 69 A.D., his remains were carefully guarded by the Greek monks. Three hundred and one years later, one, Regulus, learning by a vision that the Emperor Constantine was preparing to remove them to Constantinople, acted upon the instructions received in the vision visited the shrine, removed the bones, and set sail with a half-dozen companions. They landed on the gloomy shore of Caledonia (Scotland) where the natives gave them land on which to build a church for the glory of God, and the enshrining of the relic.—See the National Geographic Magazine, October 1917, page 379.

(b) It is thought by some that the x-like form of cross, both of the Irish and Scots is derived from the sacred monogram of the Labarum of Constantine (X and P), where the X is the first letter and P the last of the Greek word for Christ. This symbolic meaning of the form might readily have been adopted in the early Irish Church and then carried by missionaries to Scotland.—See "The Flags of the British Empire," in the National Geographic Magazine, October, 1917, page 379.

(c) The origin of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. Patrick have thus been explained: "In 1248 the Christian allies beseiging the walls of Seville employed divers war machines, among which was the saltire, or scaling ladder, by aid of which they surmounted the walls. The victory having been gained on St. Andrew's day by the assistance of the saltire, that badge was adopted by the conquerors, and a *Te Deum* was sung in all the churches in honor of St. Andrew. In the meantime Seville had been converted to Christianity, the Archbishop who succeeded the Mufti transferred the saltire to the banner of St. Andrew, to whose miraculous assistance the clergy ascribed the taking of the strong golden tower of the city. Long rejoicing for the miraculous victory led to the legend that St. Andrew had been crucified on a saltire, which they hence named the 'cross of St. Andrew.' Crucifixion on a saltire never having been adopted by any nation, its use in the martyrdom of St. Andrew and St. Patrick must be considered a monkish legend. St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, is alleged to have died on such a cross. Hence the representation of these crosses on the Union Jack of the United Kingdom."—See *Symbols, Standards & Banners of Ancient & Modern Nations*, Vol. I., p. 148, by George H. Preble, Rear Admiral, U. S. N.

(d) And there are still other legends, including the generally current one, of the time when the Scots and Picts having joined their forces to fight the Saxon King of England, and being sorely pressed, addressing themselves to God and their patron Saint, there appeared in the blue firmament of heaven the figure of the white cross on which St. Andrew had suffered. The enemy was defeated and since the date of the battle in East Lothian, A.D. 940, the white saltire on an azure field has been carried by the Scottish Nation.—See *Symbols, Standards & Banners of Ancient & Modern Nations*, Vol. I., p. 148, by George H. Preble, Rear Admiral, U. S. N.

on a red field with white stars, equal to the number of states, on the cross. This was my design, and urged upon Congress earnestly by me. Now the only difference between this and the Confederate battle flag is that the latter was made square for greater lightness and portability, while the one submitted to Congress was, of course, of the usual proportions of a flag, i.e., oblong. Models of considerable size of the four flags submitted were made of cambric and hung up in the Hall where Congress sat; and they were afterwards long in my possession, as was also the first Confederate flag (made of merino, there being no bunting at hand) unfortunately they were all lost during the war. If they could be produced they would settle the question as to the origin of the Confederate battle-flag."¹⁷

¹⁷In the summer of 1861 when Gen. Beauregard was in correspondence with Col. William Porcher Miles, Chairman of the House Military Committee, C. S. Congress, in an effort to have the Confederate flag changed, he stated that the Army of the Potomac had adopted for its forces a flag, made after the design drawn by E. C. Hancock, of New Orleans, and presented by Gen. J. B. Walton, commanding the Washington Artillery, which corresponded closely to the one recommended by Col. Miles to Congress as our first Confederate flag. Both were oblong; the field red, the bars blue, and the stars white; but Col. Walton's had a Latin cross, and Col. Miles's the St. Andrew's, which removed the objection that many of our soldiers might have to fight under the former symbol. Gen. Johnston preferred a square flag, to render it more convenient to carry, and we finally adopted in Sept. 1861, the well known "battle flag" of the Army of the Potomac (as it was first called), to which our soldiers became so devoted.

Col. Miles in a letter to Gen. Beauregard says: "In the form I proposed, the cross was more heraldic than ecclesiastical, it being the 'saltire' of heraldry, and significant of strength and progress (from the Latin *Salto*, to leap)."

PRESENT STATE FLAG

It is not within the province of this study to settle the claims as to who designed the battle-flag of the Confederacy, but to center interest in the St. Andrew's cross on a square field, which was the inspiration for the present Alabama Flag.

In an Alabama Day article,¹⁸ December 14, 1923, Mrs. Belle Allen Ross, of Montgomery, urged the marking of a historic spot, the home where Alabama's present flag had its birth. She said in part:

"When Hon. John W. A. Sanford, Jr., was a member of the Legislature, 1895, from Montgomery County, he introduced a bill from the floor of the house asking the Legislature to adopt a State Flag. The bill which passed both Houses and was signed by Governor William C. Oates, February 16, 1895, was entitled:

No. 383)

AN ACT

(H. 1051

To adopt a flag for the use of the state of Alabama.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Alabama,* That a flag for the use of the state of Alabama be, and is hereby adopted, and the said flag shall be a crimson cross of St. Andrew upon a field of white. The bars forming the cross shall be not less than six inches broad, and shall extend diagonally across the flag from side to side.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That the said flag shall be hoisted on the dome of the capitol when the two houses of the general assembly are in session and shall be used by the state on all occasions when it may be necessary or is customary to display a flag.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That all laws or parts of laws in conflict with this act be and the same are hereby repealed.

Approved February 16, 1895.

"The Alabama State Flag was designed by John W. A. Sanford, Jr., with suggestions from the late Colonel John W. A. Sanford, a Confederate Soldier, a distinguished scholarly gentleman of the old school, an able jurist. The State Flag was designed to preserve some of the distinctive features of the Confederate battle flag,—particularly the St.

¹⁸Mrs. Ross, syndicating this article, had it published in The Montgomery Advertiser on December 14, 1923, and in eight other State dailies and weeklies within a week following.

Andrew's Cross. This being true, the Alabama State Flag should be square and in all of its lines of measurement conforming to the Confederate battle flag. Therefore, the proper size for the State flag would be fifty-one inches square, with the arms of St. Andrew's Cross eight and one-half inches wide, extending diagonally across the flag from side to side, the ends of the bars dividing equally at each corner. The white in the flag was emblematic of purity of purpose; the red, emblem of courage.

"The Alabama State Flag was designed at the home of Col. John W. A. Sanford, where the author of the flag bill made his home, 535 South Hull Street (corner Hull and Grove), Montgomery, Alabama.

"The first Alabama State flag—the model—was made by Mrs. John W. A. Sanford, Jr.,¹⁹ wife of the author of the bill.

"This model was made of white long cloth and red oil-boiled calico. It was unfurled in the House of Representatives when Mr. Sanford introduced his bill.

"For years the model of the State Flag was safely kept in the home where it had its birth. As time went on, it was lost—no one knows when or how.

"Should not Alabama mark the Birthplace of the Flag of Alabama?"

The Legislature of Alabama in 1923 passed:

No. 444.)

AN ACT

(S. 269. Randall

To provide for the proper display of the United States Flag and the Flag of the State of Alabama in the schools of Alabama that are supported in part or in whole by public funds and to provide for the enforcement of the same.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of Alabama:

SECTION 1. That all schools in this State that are supported in whole or in part by public funds, be and the same are hereby required to display every day on which school is in session, at some suitable place about the school building, the flag of the United States and the flag of the State of Alabama.

SECTION 2. Be it further enacted, that teachers, in making monthly reports shall show on the same that the provisions of this Act have been complied with, and superintendents of city schools in drawing

¹⁹Mrs. Sanford was before her marriage Miss Minnie Lee Smoot, of Mobile.

public money, or monies, shall certify that each school under his supervision has complied with this Act.

SECTION 3. Be it further enacted, that teachers in the State subject to the provisions of this Act shall not be allowed to draw public funds unless the provisions of this Act are complied with, and the State Superintendent of Education is charged with the enforcement of the provisions hereof.

SECTION 4. The flag provided for in this Act shall be paid for by local school boards, in localities where local school boards exist, and in localities where there are no local school boards, such flags shall be paid for by the County Boards of Education.

Approved Sept. 26, 1923.

During the World War when patriotic fervor demanded the display of both the Flag of Alabama and the Flag of the United States, the Montgomery Advertiser, through popular subscription raised the necessary funds to erect a steel flag pole on the beautiful sloping lawn south of the Capitol. At its dedication, in 1918, the Stars and Stripes were triumphantly raised. Around this flag pole Thanksgiving prayers were said on Armistice Day, and, wreathed and banked with roses, it welcomed home from France "Alabama's Own", the 167th Regiment, U. S. A. Now it stands perpetually ready, as need requires, to fly the Stars and Stripes or Alabama's St. Andrew's Cross of crimson on its field of white.

ALABAMA'S SECESSION FLAG

By ELIZABETH WINSTON SHEEHAN

Oh, hark to my tale,
Ye bards of the land,
And let song and lute
Attention command!

From billowing folds of blue shimmering silk
There was measured the length of a flag on that day;
Cambric needles touched thimbles of silver and gold—
Logs of oak, flaring bright scorned the wind blowing cold—
And on Capitol Hill William Yancey held sway.

Lovely ladies in hoop skirts bent over their task.
Some with scissors snip-snipped, others basted with care.
For the hour drew near when a word from "The Hill"
Would ask for a flag, which should show forth their skill,
So they silently sewed—there was no time to spare.

Oh, hark to my tale,
Ye bards of the land,
And let song and lute
Attention command!

Clever painters, whose brushes had proved their real worth,
Limned the form of proud Liberty, robed like a queen.
In one hand she held firmly a sword—keen, unsheathed—
In the other a flag, with a star, just unwreathed
From its mates in blue brightness. With celestial sheen

On an arch o'er head ran a legend in gold,
Which State freedom proclaimed as an aim for all time;
And reversing the banner, they fixed, as was right,
In its beauty of green with pink blossoms and white,
A full stalk of King Cotton in late summer's prime.

Oh, hark to my tale,
Ye bards of the land,
And let song and lute
Attention command!

Near the root of this plant was a rattle snake coiled,
Which with NOLI ME TANGERE (¹) boldly defied
Any possible foe who should threaten the health
Of this land of the South through its symbol of wealth—
And the Seal of the State set a bond by its side.

Paint all dried, bound and taped, loved and blessed, it was done!
Being tenderly rolled, with loud cheering and mirth
It was borne to "The Hill" where excitement swayed men.
Stars and Stripes, dewed with tears, was replaced even then,
And our flag of Secession that day had its birth.

Oh, hark to my tale,
Ye bards of the land,
And let song and lute
Attention command!

That new flag held its own for one month and three weeks . . .
'Then the Stars and the Bars took its place on the dome
Underneath which Jeff Davis was chosen to lead
The Confederate States in the hour of their need;
And the flag with one star found in Archives a home.

Then one day when Montgomery's life felt the heel
Of the army of Yankeedom pressed on its heart,
It was ruthlessly torn from its late resting place,
And today is outspread in Iowa's glass case—
Priceless now, because once it played well a brave part.

Oh, hark to my tale,
Ye bards of the land,
And let song and lute
Attention command!

—Written for the Alabama Historical Quarterly

¹Be unwilling to touch me, or Touch Me Not!

THE FLAG OF ALABAMA

By ELIZABETH WINSTON SHEEHAN

They took a piece of white long cloth
And one of oil-boiled red,
And made our Alabama flag—
Those Sanford folk, long dead.

“My father, lend me now your ear—
What shall our flag portray?”
So spake John Sanford to his sire,
The General, wise and gray.

That soldier of Secession’s war,
Now passed these thirty years,
Bethought him of his battle flag—
His eyes were filmed with tears.

“No other flag could bring the thrill
Of that square crimson field
On which were crossed bright bars of blue
Which stars of white revealed;

“So take that cross—St. Andrew’s—son,
And feature it in red,
Then give it an eternal home
On pure white field,” he said.

“Will you, my dear, apply your skill
And bring this dream to life?”
“My stitches joyfully I’ll give”,
Said young John Sanford’s wife.

Then with a piece of white long cloth
And one of oil-boiled red,
They made an Alabama flag—
Those Sanford folk, long dead.

To legislative halls it went;
Young Sanford pled its cause;
And when he showed his dream fulfilled
It met with wild applause.

The year of eighteen-ninety-five
First saw that flag unfurled—
A crimson cross on field of white—
A signal to the world.

Of courage high, which saltire¹ shows,
To leap into the fray
To keep our field of white unstained,
And all right calls obey.

Since then our Alabama flag
Has done its part and more;
It waved at home when stars and stripes
Had sought a foreign shore.

Sometimes in silk it swishes past;
In bunting every day
It floats above foot-packed school yards
Where happy children play,

Because they took some white long cloth,
And some of oil-boiled red,
And made our Alabama flag,
Those Sanford folk, long dead.

Written for the Alabama Historical Quarterly.

¹The St. Andrew's cross is in the heraldic form of the *Saltire*, an ancient scaling ladder; from the Latin verb *Salto*, meaning "to leap."

THE MILITARY FORCES OF ALABAMA

By THOMAS M. OWEN, LL.D.

(This article, treating of the origin and development of the militia history of Alabama, was written by the late Thomas M. Owen, LL.D., and published in his *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, 1920.—EDITOR.)

The militia is one of the most venerable of the state institutions. Its history as a general organization on a definite plan began with the Mississippi Territory "Militia Law" of 1807.¹ Under this law every free white male citizen from sixteen to fifty years of age was subject to enrollment, except the territorial officers, judicial and executive, licensed ministers of the gospel, keepers of the public jails and of public ferries. As illustrative of the character of equipment used in



WILLIAM WYATT BIBB
*First Governor of
Alabama*

those days, the following extract from the original act is given: "That every citizen so enrolled and notified, shall, within six months thereafter, or as soon as such can be had in the territory, provide himself with a good musquet or fire-lock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints and a knap-sack, a pouch, with a box to contain therein not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musquet or fire-lock, to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder; and shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out, to exercise, or into service, except when called out on company days to exercise only, when he may appear without a knapsack. The commissioned officers severally shall be armed with a sword or hanger. . . ."

The general plan of organization was based upon one regiment of two battalions in each county, to consist of as many companies of forty-five members, rank and file, as could be formed, the whole

(¹) The dates of the commission of the Territorial Governor of Mississippi of which Alabama was then a part were Winthrop Sargent, May 1798; W. C. Claiborne, May 25, 1800; Robert Williams, March 1, 1805; David Holmes, March 7, 1809. The latter was still in office in 1817 when the Territory was divided. William Wyatt Bibb, a former U. S. Senator from Georgia, was appointed Governor of the Alabama Territory by President Monroe in 1817 and when the Territory passed into statehood, Dec. 14, 1819, Bibb was elected Governor by popular vote.

comprising one brigade. The officers were a brigadier-general, with one brigade inspector who served also as brigade major; and for each regiment, a lieutenant, colonel commandant; for each battalion, a major; for each company, a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, a drummer, a fifer or bugler; the non-commissioned officers to be appointed by the captain. The regimental staff officers were: an adjutant, a quartermaster, a paymaster, a surgeon and a surgeon's mate, a sergeant major, a drum major, and a fife major, all appointed by the commanding officer. At present the Alabama National Guard is officered the same as similar grades of service in the United States army.

At the outset a muster of every company was required to be held every three months; a battalion muster in February, and a regimental muster in October of each year, but in 1821 the law was changed so as to require only two company musters each year, one in April, the other in October. The Governor was empowered to call out such number of militia troops as he might think necessary to quell insurrection or repel invasion, and while in active service they were governed by the United States articles of war and received the same pay and rations as United States troops.

The organization also provided for a "patrol" to regulate and discipline roving or unruly slaves and other disorderly persons, and a system of fines and forfeitures to insure enrollment and attendance at musters and drills. The administration of the disciplinary system was in the hands of courts martial composed of designated militia officers.

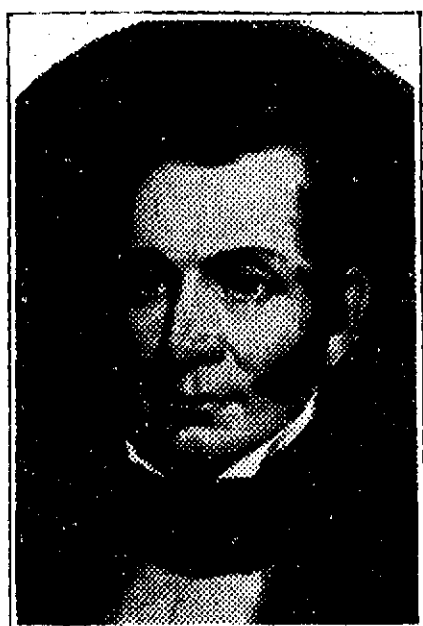
In 1814 the Governor was authorized to accept volunteers from exempted classes of citizens and commission them to act in defence of their counties in cases of emergency. Companies so formed were subject to the same rules and regulations as the rest of the militia.—Toulmin's Digest, 1823, p. 586. In the same year a section was inserted in a law governing various details of militia service, providing for the use of the territorial troops when needed in the service of the United States; also a clause exempting the members of the territorial legislature from militia duty.—Ibid. pp. 587-588. In 1816 the command of each regiment consisting of two battalions was vested in a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major. Where there were two counties, neither sufficiently populous to form a regiment, they might form one by uniting their battalions, but each battalion had to muster separately and was not permitted to leave its own county to attend regimental muster. The exemption clauses were modified so as to provide that

coroners, justices of the peace, practicing physicians, and keepers of public jails should not be subject to ordinary militia duty but might be drafted for actual service.—Ibid, pp. 589-590.

The law providing for the consolidation of the militia into one brigade and the appointment of a brigadier-general was repealed in 1818 and the Governor was empowered to arrange the respective regiments, battalions and companies as he saw fit, and call out any portion of it that he deemed proper when the public safety required, or upon requisition of the United States government.—Ibid, pp. 590-91.

The Constitution of 1819 empowered the General Assembly of the State to provide by law for the organization and discipline of the militia, and provided that "Any person who has conscientious scruples to bear arms shall not be compelled to do so, but shall pay an equivalent for personal service." The first State militia law was passed in 1820. It changed the former exemption clauses so as to make liable for service "all free white men and indentured servants between the age of eighteen and forty-five years," and exempted judges, solicitors and clerks of all State and county courts, licensed ministers of the gospel, justices of the peace, postmasters and postriders, "except in cases of imminent danger, insurrection or invasion." In 1822 millers were added to the exempted list, and by 1830 the list had been further extended to embrace commissioners of revenue and roads, the directors, cashier, teller, and clerks of the State Bank, land office employees and all officers, servants and students of the State university. The State was divided into four military divisions composed of nine brigades, each commanded by a brigadier-general. A brigade consisted of not less than two or more than five regiments, each commanded by a colonel. A regiment consisted of two battalions, the first commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, the second by a major. Battalions contained not less than two nor more than five companies, of not less than forty privates, each commanded by a captain, lieutenant, ensign, four sergeants, four corporals and two musicians. All officers above the rank of captain were elected by the commissioned officers of their respective commands until 1832 when they were made elective by all the members of their commands; captains and subalterns by the enlisted men in their respective companies. All officers held their commissions during good behavior and could not resign under two years except by permission of a court martial. The discipline system was administered by courts martial which, in the cases of privates or non-commissioned officers, might inflict the death penalty for failure to respond to drafts, but no sentence of such a court which affected the life of a commissioned officer could be

executed until approved by the Governor and four-fifths of both houses of the General Assembly. Provision was made for one troop of cavalry and one company of artillery in each regiment, and one company of volunteer light infantry or riflemen. The higher officers were first supplied with copies of the United States infantry tactics in



Gov. JOHN GAYLE²

1831, and in 1835 officers who should serve five years were declared exempt from road and military duty except in cases of invasion or insurrection.²

In 1837 the General Assembly formally adopted a "System of Militia Laws" or "Military Code," prepared by Generals George W. Crabb and J. T. Bradford. This code permitted the purchase of exemption by payment of five dollars a year, but this provision was repealed two years later. The list of persons legally exempt was extended to include, in addition to those exempt under formal laws, all United States officials and members of Congress with their clerks, pilots, mariners actually in service, professors, teachers and students of every public school in the State. The service was divided into two general classes: militia and volunteers, both governed by the same regulations, and differing mainly with respect only to the method of their original organization and equipment. The militia was equipped by the State, the volunteers largely at their own expense before mustering in. In other respects organization provided for in the Military Code was much the same as that previously existing.—Aikin's Digest Supplement, 1841, pp. 123-169.

In 1852 a revision of the old Military Code was adopted, but it involved no radical departures from the former general plan.

When the War of Secession began most of the militia joined the regular or volunteer forces either by companies or individually and the militia was relegated to a subordinate and inconspicuous position. The legislature enacted a law in 1863 organizing a militia to take the place of the State troops transferred to the Confederate service. The new troops consisted mainly of men under seventeen and over forty-five years of age, formerly exempt, and those physically unfit for service in the volunteer forces. These men formed a "home-guard" and could be ordered out by the Governor in cases of invasion or insurrection and

²Gov. Gayle took the field as Commander-in-Chief of State troops in the Creek Indian disturbances.

for the enforcement of the laws, including the suppression of illicit distilleries, in any part of the State. The Governor was given wide discretionary powers in raising these troops, but in other respects the law followed closely the provisions of previous military codes, save for an extension of the limits to include the ages of fifteen to sixty years and relaxation of the physical standard for recruits. The cadets of the university, previously exempt from all military service, were organized into a corps under this act and made subject to the Governor's orders for service within the State. A section of the law provided: "the enumerating officer shall note which of the persons enumerated has an efficient gun, and which has not, and which of them will furnish his own horse, saddle and bridle, and serve as mounted men. . . ." The Governor was authorized to have "efficient guns" supplied to persons who had none; and to carry out the purposes of the act, an appropriation of half a million dollars was made.—Acts of Alabama, 1863, pp. 3-11. At the same time another law was enacted to provide for exemptions from militia service, in which numerous classes of persons formerly subject were excused.—Ibid. pp. 12-13. Later in the same year these laws were amended so as to provide for drafting the militia into the Confederate service.—Ibid. pp. 95-96.

A general restoration of the State militia organization was provided for by legislative enactment in 1877, dependence for recruits being placed mainly upon the enrollment of entire companies of volunteers having their own elected officers.—Ibid. 1877, pp. 82-90. In 1881 a thorough reorganization of the entire military establishment was undertaken, which contemplated the retention of the volunteer companies already in service, but provided for placing the whole service under the regulations and tactics used by the United States army. This act repealed the law of 1877, cited above, and all previous conflicting legislation. The official designation was changed from "Alabama State Militia" to "Alabama State Troops."—Ibid. 1880-81, pp. 103-117.

Since 1897 the State's military forces have been known as the "Alabama National Guard," and active members have been exempt from the payment of poll tax and from jury duty.—Ibid. 1896-97, pp. 1308-1324.

Another general law was passed in 1899 but made only minor changes in the regulations; among them, the exemption of guardsmen from road duty and street tax as well as from poll tax and jury duty, and the regulation of their pay when in active service. Commissioned officers were to receive half the pay allowed United States officers of similar rank and non-commissioned officers and privates, double the

pay and the same allowances provided by law for men of similar rank in the United States army. Other provisions of the new law were: the annual encampment of the National Guard for the purpose of drill and discipline; the authorizing of commanding officers to prevent the sale or giving away of liquors of any sort in or within one-eighth of a mile of military camps, and to suppress the sale of arms, ammunition, dynamite, or other explosives in the vicinity of camps or headquarters of troops on active duty.—Ibid. 1898-99, pp. 136-153.

In 1909 the pay of commissioned officers of the Alabama National Guard was by law made the same as that of officers of similar rank in the United States army.—Ibid. 1909, pp. 326-327. The legislature, at its extra session in 1911, passed a general law regulating the National Guard, but as most of its important features were retained in the law of 1915, which governs the present establishment, it is unnecessary to discuss it in detail. (See Acts of Alabama, 1911, pp. 651-673).

The present law provides for one division of which the Governor is commander-in-chief, except when called into the service of the United States, but he does not command personally in the field except by resolution of the legislature. Its organization, armament and discipline are the same as the regular and volunteer forces of the United States. The active administration and supervision of military affairs is the duty of the adjutant general and his assistants, although general orders are issued upon the authority of the Governor as commander-in-chief. The law prescribes in detail the daily rate of pay of each class of service, both rank and file, when on active duty. The minimum numerical strength of a company, troop or battery is sixty-one officers and men. Small appropriations are made from State funds to defray the expenses "necessary and incident to the upkeep of" each company, troop, battery, hospital corps, and band, and the governing body of each county is authorized to make similar appropriations for the same purpose. At least two drills or practice marches each month are required and the men are subject to fine, at the discretion of a court martial, for non-attendance. No organization may go out of its home county except by permission of the Governor. Physical examination before enlistments is required and enlistments are for three years. Exemptions from taxes and jury duty remain as before, and provision is made for retirement without pay or allowance after ten years active service. Discrimination against members of the Alabama National Guard at public places of

entertainment or amusement on account of the uniform is prohibited and penalized.—Ibid. 1915, pp. 745-766.³

ADJUTANT GENERAL

A State executive officer, and, under the governor as commander-in-chief, the head of the military department. He is appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, and must have served at least two years in the Alabama National Guard, or in the Spanish-American War, or in the United States Army. He has the rank of brigadier general, is chief of the governor's staff, and ex officio chief of all staff departments. All current military records and accounts are kept in his office, and he is required to supervise "the receipt, preservation, repair, distribution, issue and collection" of all military property, and the organization, armament, discipline, training, recruiting, inspecting, instructing, pay, and subsistence of all branches of the service. He keeps a roster of all the officers and men of the Alabama National Guard; distributes the State military laws and rules, and blank books, forms and stationery to the troops; prepares such reports as may be required for the State or for the United States Government; makes a report to the governor 10 days before each session of the legislature; and performs such other duties as may be required of him by the commander-in-chief.

EARLY HISTORY

The first constitution of the State, 1819, required that the legislature should provide by law for organizing the militia, but should not make any elections or appointments of officers therein except adjutants general and quartermasters general. Accordingly, the laws organizing the State's military establishment specified that the adjutant general should be elected by joint vote of both houses, and hold his office for the term of four years, but authorized the governor to fill vacancies during a recess. The adjutant general was also inspector general and had the rank of colonel. His rank was raised in 1831 to that of brigadier general, and his compensation put upon the basis of \$4 for every day he was engaged in the actual discharge of his official duties,

³REFERENCES.—Toulmin's *Digest of Mississippi Territory Statutes*, 1807, pp. 56-83; Toulmin's *Digest of Alabama Laws*, 1823, pp. 586-623; Aikin's *Digest Supplement*, 1841, pp. 123-169; *Codes*, 1852, 1867, 1876, 1886, 1907, passim; *Acts of Alabama* cited above; Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, pp. 1057-1058 (Washington, D. C., 1898); Crabb and Bradford, *Military Code of Alabama* (1838.)

and 7 cents for every mile traveled while so engaged, but not to exceed \$200 in any one year.

Under the military code, prepared by Generals George W. Crabb and J. T. Bradford, and adopted in 1837, the office of adjutant general was continued with slightly amplified powers and a few additional duties, the same as before. The code of 1852 first imposed the duty of reporting to the governor 10 days before each regular session of the legislature the number and condition of the arms and accoutrements of the State. An act of February 24, 1860, "to provide for an efficient Military organization of the State of Alabama," constituted the governor, the adjutant general and inspector general, and the quartermaster general a "Military Commission," with power to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the act; also to adopt a State flag and prescribe a uniform for the volunteer corps.

CONFEDERATE PERIOD

When Alabama withdrew from the Union, the military establishment was reorganized to meet the new conditions. The secession convention held in January, 1861, passed an ordinance on the 9th, "to provide for the military defense of the State," which made the adjutant and inspector general appointive by the governor. His rank, pay and allowances were the same as those of a brigadier general. An assistant adjutant general, with the rank, pay and allowance of a colonel of Dragoons, was authorized.

The ordinance assigned no specific duties, but the convention adopted the United States Army regulations of January 1, 1857, "so far as they consist with the provisions of this ordinance, and of other ordinances which have been or may be adopted" by the convention. On January 23 another ordinance was adopted annulling the old organization of the State militia in order to clear the ground for a new establishment which should be wholly separate from, and subordinate to, the regular and volunteer service provided by the ordinance of the 9th. The result of the two ordinances was the creation of two adjutants and inspectors general—one appointed by the governor for service with the volunteer forces in the event of war with the United States; the other elected by the legislature, and a continuation of that office in the old militia, whose services were limited to the defense of the State alone. The former almost immediately became a part of the military organization of the Confederacy.

REORGANIZATION

During the decade following the close of the War, national influences so dominated the State military situation that little or nothing in the way of improvement or reorganization was attempted until 1877, after the close of the Reconstruction period. In that year a law "for the more efficient organization of the volunteer militia of Alabama" was passed, which reorganized the East Alabama Male College, Central Institute military arm of the State government in many respects, but made no change in the status or duties of the adjutant and inspector general. In 1881 a law was enacted for "the organization and discipline of the volunteer forces of Alabama," which repealed the act of 1877, and separated the duties of adjutant general from those of inspector general, establishing two distinct offices, each with the rank of colonel of Cavalry and both a part of the governor's staff. The office continued separate and with specific duties for each until 1915, when the duties of inspector general were consolidated into the general duties of the adjutant general and his assistants.

There were no assistants authorized by law for the adjutant general of the militia until the adoption of the code of 1886. The code committee of the legislature added a clause authorizing the appointment of an assistant adjutant general with the rank of lieutenant colonel. A clerk in the office was authorized at the same time.

INSPECTOR GENERAL

From 1820 to 1881 the office of inspector general was a part of that of the adjutant general, the official title being, "Adjutant and Inspector General." When the offices were separated, the inspector general was required by law to visit encampments of State troops, in order to ascertain whether or not they had been properly instructed and trained. His rank, and his pay when actually engaged in the discharge of his duties, were those of a colonel of cavalry. In 1915 the duties of the inspector general were again consolidated with those of the adjutant general and his assistants.⁴

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL

One of the State military officers originally provided by the constitution of 1819. The incumbent of this position and of the office of the adjutant general were the only military officers who could be elected by

⁴REFERENCES.—Toulmin's *Digest*, 1823, pp. 591-623; Aikin, *Digest*, 2d ed., 1836, p. 315; Aikin, *Digest Supplement*, 1841, pp. 123-174; *Code*, 1907, secs. 930, 935; *General Acts*, 1915, pp. 745-766.

the legislature. An early act of December 31, 1822, provided for his election for a term of four years by joint vote of both houses. His duties were "the care of all public stores, of arms, ammunition, tents, camp equipage, etc., and when any part of the militia of this State shall be called into actual service, he shall, on the requisition of the governor, furnish such articles of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage, as may be in his possession or power to procure."

The "Military Code" adopted in 1837 enlarged his duties so as to include those of the commissary general, and after 1852, he was required to make reports to the adjutant general of the number and condition of the military stores of the State.

A "Military Commission" was created by act of February 24, 1860, "to provide for an efficient military organization of the State of Alabama," to consist of the governor, the adjutant and inspector general, and the quartermaster general, which should have power to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the objects of its establishment, also to adopt a State flag, and to prescribe a uniform for the volunteer corps.

The secession convention of 1861 passed an ordinance on January 19, relating to military defense, in which provision was made for the appointment by the governor of a quartermaster general, with the rank, pay and allowances of a brigadier general, and two assistant quartermasters, with rank, pay and allowances of a captain of Dragoons, all of whom he might dismiss at his discretion, and who were required to give bond and security for the faithful performance of their duties. No specific duties, however, were assigned these officers, but the convention adopted the regulations for the Army of the United States, promulgated January 1, 1857, so far as they were consistent with the provisions of the ordinance, and of other ordinances adopted by the convention.

On January 23 another ordinance was adopted for the purpose of annulling the old organization of the State militia in order to clear the ground for a new establishment which should be wholly separate from, and subordinate to, the regular and volunteer service provided for by previous ordinances. The result of the two ordinances was the creation of two quartermaster generals; one appointed by the governor for service with the volunteer forces in the event of war with the United States; the other elected by the legislature and a continuation of that office in the militia, whose services were limited to duties connected with the defense of the State alone. It is with the latter only that this sketch is concerned, for the former almost immediately became a part of the military organization of the Confederacy.

During the decade following the close of the War the State military organization remained inactive or dormant until 1877. In that year a law "for the more efficient organization of the volunteer militia of Alabama" was passed, which reorganized the military arm of the State government in many respects, but made no change in the status or duties of the quartermaster general. In 1881 a law was enacted to reorganize and discipline the volunteer forces of the State. It repealed the act of 1877 and created the office of quartermaster general with the same duties as formerly and with the rank of colonel of Cavalry. Later acts specified that his duties should be, as nearly as circumstances would permit, the same as those performed by the like officer in the United States Army. In 1911 it was made a necessary qualification for the office that the incumbent should have served, prior to his appointment, at least two years in the Alabama National Guard, or in the Spanish-American War, or in the United States Army, and his rank was raised to that of brigadier general. In 1915 the office was discontinued, the duties being added to those of the adjutant general.

No publications.⁵

ADJUTANTS' GENERAL

John Collins, 1865; Hugh P. Watson, 1865-1866; George E. Brewer, 1866- (no records discovered); William W. Allen, 1870-1872; Marshall G. Candee, 1872-1874; Thomas N. Macartney, 1874-1878; John F. White, 1878-1881; Henry C. Tompkins, 1881-1883; James N. Gilmer, 1883-1886; John D. Roquemore, 1886-1887; Alexander B. Garland, 1887-1888; Charles P. Jones, 1888-1894; Harvey E. Jones, 1894-1896; Robert F. Ligon, Jr., 1896-1899; William W. Brandon, 1899-1907; Bibb Graves, 1907-1911; Joseph B. Sculley, 1911-1915; Graph J. Hubbard, 1915-1918.⁶

Reports, 1871-1910, published at irregular intervals. They contain statistics of militia and details of riots, or disturbances in which the military was called to interfere. The report for 1892-94 has a full account of the military records then to be found in that office. These records are now for the most part in the custody of the State department of archives and history, where a full set of the reports is also preserved.

⁵Aikin, *Digest*, 2d ed., 1836, p. 315; Aikin, *Digest Supplement*, 1841, pp. 159-160; *Code*, 1907, secs. 930, 935; *General Acts*, 1915, pp. 745-766.

⁶Toulmin, *Digest*, 1823, pp. 591-622; Aikin, *Digest*, 2d ed., 1836, p. 314, and *Digest Supplement*, 1841, pp. 123-174; *Code*, 1907, secs. 930-931; *Acts*, 1859-60, p. 41; *General Acts*, 1915, pp. 745-766; *Ordinances and Constitution of Alabama* (1861), pp. 13-15; Adjutant General, *Reports*, 1871-1910; Owen, "Bibliography of Alabama," in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1907, p. 782.

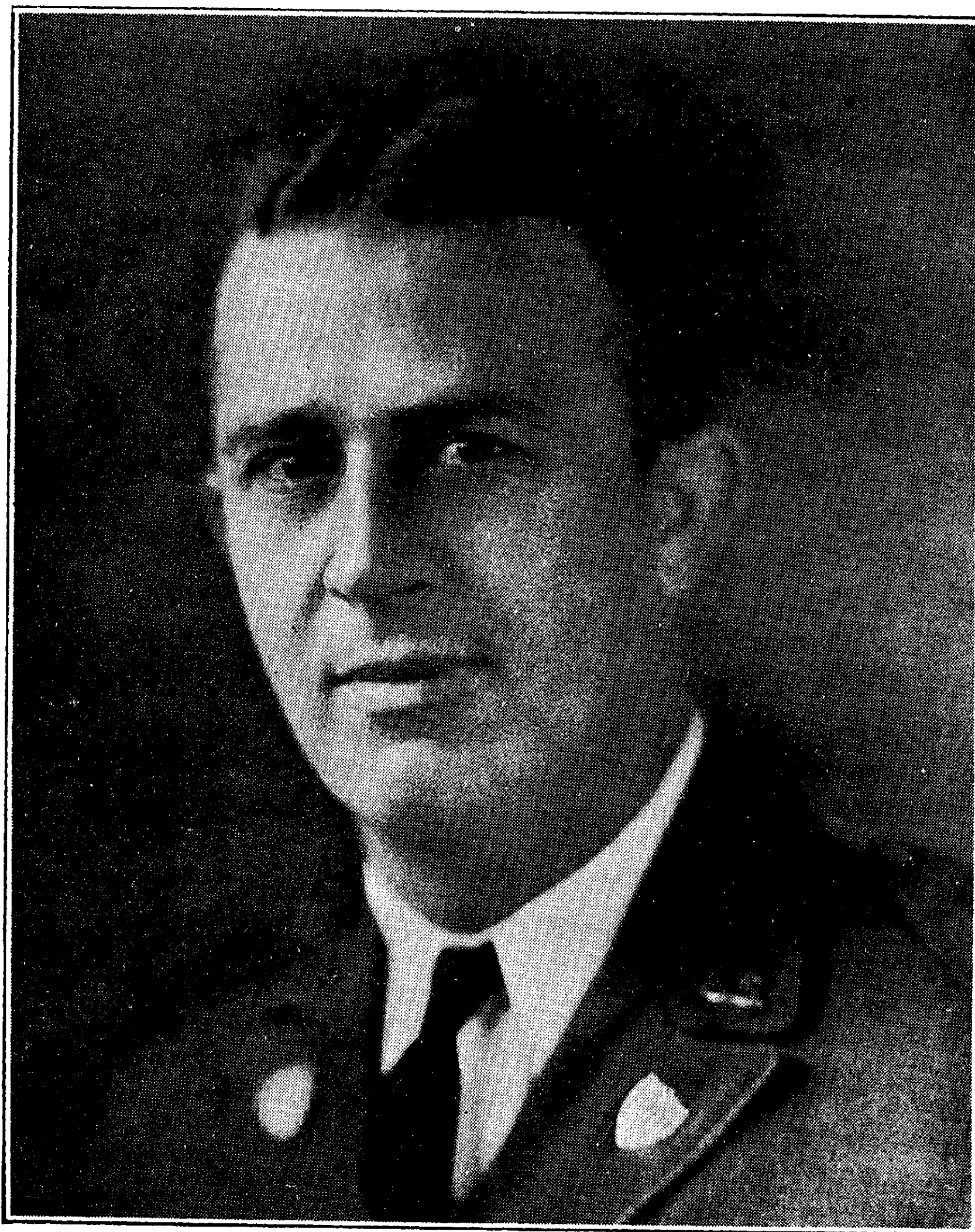
ALABAMA NATIONAL GUARD

By FRANK S. LAND, *Captain, Q. M. C., Ala. N. G.*
1912—1917

The Alabama National Guard or Organized Militia, from 1912 to 1916, consisted of one Infantry Brigade, which comprised the First, Second and Fourth Regiments, a Battalion of Field Artillery, consisting of Batteries A and C, one First Field Company, Signal Corps, and three (3) Sanitary Companies. In addition thereto there were the Adjutant General's Department, the Inspector General's Department, the Judge Advocate General's Department, the Quartermaster Department, the Medical Department, and the Ordnance Department; all appertaining to State Headquarters Troops. The strength of the Guard at this pre-war period was approximately one hundred and sixty (160) officers and three thousand (3,000) enlisted men.

Headquarters of the First Alabama Infantry were located at Troy; Headquarters of the Second Infantry and of the Fourth Infantry were located at Montgomery; Headquarters of the First Battalion Field Artillery were at Birmingham. The various and individual units of the Guard were located at many and strategic places throughout the State. North Alabama had units at Alabama City, Bessemer, Birmingham, Gadsden, Oxford, Pell City, Tuscaloosa and Florence. Central Alabama accommodated units at Eufaula, Fort Deposit, Luverne, New Decatur, Opelika, Alexander City, Tallassee and Montgomery. Southern Alabama was represented by Abbeville, Andalusia, Bay Minette, Brewton, Castleberry, Dothan, Enterprise, Florala, Mobile, Ozark, Samson, and Slocumb. In each Infantry Regiment there was a band; these bands being located at Mobile, Ozark and Opelika. The State as a whole was convenient to some National Guard unit; this being a fact of vital importance in case of riots or internal disorders.

A careful perusal of correspondence, special orders, and files of the Adjutant General's Department, now on hand in the Department of Archives and History, indicates that a high morale permeated the ranks of the Alabama National Guard during the period from 1912 to 1917 (World War date). Brigade, Regimental, Battalion, and Unit Commanders were intensely interested and were active in the promotion of the Guard. Personnel of high type were secured for enlistments. Many requests for formation of units at various and sundry places in the State were turned down due to enforced limitations of the Chief of the Division of Military Affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C.



BRIG. GEN. FORREST EUGENE BUTLER,
Adjutant General, Alabama National Guard, 1927

This fact indicates that a fine civic support was accorded the Guard at this period.

In the latter part of 1916, the First Alabama Cavalry was organized. This was the first organization made in Alabama under the National Defense Act of 1916. This Act governs the present Military Policy of the United States. Conspicuous in the organization of this Cavalry Regiment were Colonel Robert E. Steiner and Lieutenant Colonel Bibb Graves, the two senior officers of the organization. Colonel

Steiner later succeeded to the command of the First Alabama Brigade, and Colonel Graves became commanding officer of this regiment. The troops of the First Alabama Cavalry were located at Montgomery, Birmingham, Albertville, Jasper, Tuscaloosa, Greenville, Dothan, Elba, Uniontown, Centerville, Talladega, and Troy.

In 1916, two (2) Special Medical Units, Alabama Field Hospital No. 1 and Alabama Ambulance Company No. 1, were organized at Birmingham.

Activities. The Alabama National Guard during the period prior to the Mexican Border Service and the World War were engaged principally in the Armory and Field Training activities. Many units and detachments were ordered by the Governor to scenes of disorders and riots. Their duty was to maintain order, to prevent mob violence, to protect lives and property, and to coordinate with civilian agencies. The troops of Alabama have at all times under such circumstances demonstrated their worth to the State. With diplomacy, with tact, and with force if entirely necessary, the Guard has preserved the peace of many threatened localities. The personnel under these conditions have acted the part of civilian-soldiers.

One big annual event in the career of each National Guard organization was the Federal Armory Inspection. These Inspections were for the purpose of determining whether or not the respective organizations had attained such degrees of proficiency as would justify their continuance, and would justify the further support of the Federal Government in their maintenance. The Federal Government furnished the organizations with arms, uniforms, and accoutrements. It also paid them for their services at Field Training Encampments. Preparations that involved work and conscientious application to training programs were made by the officers and enlisted men prior to these Inspections. These Inspections were conducted by Regular Army Instructors, and were of a rigid nature. The organizations had to be well organized, well trained, and well equipped to justify their continuance.

Regular Army Instructors were detailed to the State of Alabama for the purpose of training and instruction. There were one or more for each branch. These Instructors were vital factors in the progress and development of the Alabama National Guard.

Mexican Border Service. On June 18th, 1916, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker wired Governor Henderson of Alabama as follows:

“Having in view the possibility of further aggression upon the territory of the United States from Mexico and the neces-

sity for the proper protection of that frontier, the President has thought proper to exercise the authority vested in him by the Constitution and Laws and call out the Organized Militia and the National Guard necessary for that purpose. I am in consequence instructed by the President to call into the Service of the United States forthwith through you the following units of the Organized Militia and the National Guard of the State of Alabama which the President directs shall be assembled at the State Mobilization Camp at Montgomery for muster into the Service of the United States of America:

One Brigade of three regiments of Infantry,
Two Batteries of Field Artillery,
One Signal Corps Company"

This telegram has been designated as the President's Call.

The necessary mobilization of troops at Vandiver Park in Montgomery began in the latter part of June, 1916, or immediately subsequent to the President's Call. On July 1, 1916, the Adjutant General of Alabama wired the War Department that all organizations of the Alabama National Guard have been called into the Service of the United States. By Sept. 30, 1916, one hundred and eighty-two (182) officers and three thousand one hundred and ninety-four enlisted men were in active training at the Mobilization Camp.

Captain William H. Amerine in his book, "Alabama's Own in France," says of these soldiers:

"Reviews were held in the city (Montgomery) and thousands of loyal citizens lined the streets to see the "Fighting Fourth" march by, and they yelled themselves hoarse. Balls and dances were given, and Montgomery presented a martial appearance. Dapper looking officers strolled here and there with the South's most beautiful girls. It recalled Civil War days to the old timers, but with the absence of the grey uniforms.

The officers and men were now well "set up" and presented a most military aspect. There was the bloom of rugged health in their cheeks, they bore themselves well, and there was a certain snap in their movements.

Out on the rifle range, in the rear of the beautiful Oakwood Cemetery, officers and men were daily shooting like squirrel riflemen of old. Excellent scores were made even

with bad ammunition. The men rapidly qualified as "expert riflemen," "sharpshooters," and "marksmen." Officers also acquired a deadly use of the pistol. It looked bad for the "Greasers," and had war come—well, God pity the poor devils who should face those Springfields."

On October 28th, 1916, the first contingent of Alabama forces, comprising First Brigade Headquarters, First Field Company, Signal Corps, Field Hospital No. 1, and Ambulance Company No. 1 reached Nogales, Arizona. As soon as sleeping car accommodations became available, the First, Second, and Fourth Infantry Regiments, and Batteries "A" and "C", First Alabama Field Artillery entrained for the Border. For these movements, ten (10) days rations for men and horses were taken. Batteries "A" and "C" upon arrival at the Border were stationed at Douglas, Arizona. With this exception, the other units designated above were stationed at Nogales.

The First Cavalry, Alabama National Guard, only recently organized, entrained for the Border on December 8th, 1916, and were destined for San Antonio, Texas (Fort Sam Houston). This regiment remained at San Antonio for the duration of the border service.

After arrival on the Mexican Border, the first paramount duty of the Alabama Guardsmen was that of making camp. This was a necessary task, but one that few soldiers enjoy. Very few soldiers will classify this duty under the category of "soldiering."

While on the border, the troops were engaged in such duties and details as drills, hikes, rifle practice, trench construction, and maneuvers. Out post and patrol duties were also engaged in. Occasional shots were fired from both sides of the boundary line but no harm resulted therefrom. The life of the Alabama trooper on the border was a pleasurable one even if intermingled with hardships and exposure. He was ever keyed up with the anticipation of active service. Alabama had on the border approximately three thousand five hundred (3,500) men at Nogales; three hundred and twenty-five (325) at Douglas; and one thousand and two hundred (1,200) at San Antonio.

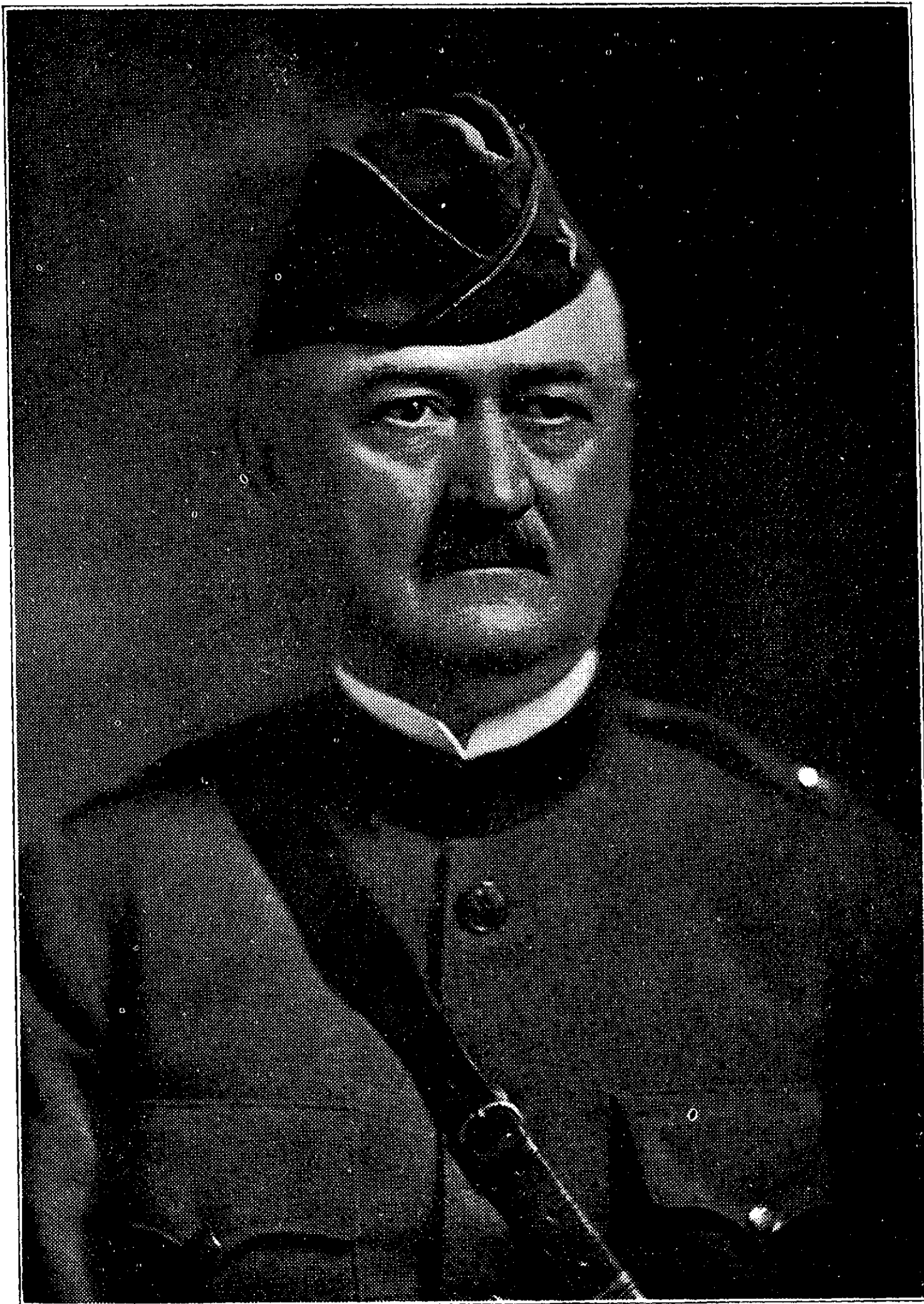
In March, 1917, the Alabama Troops on Mexican Border Service were recalled to the Mobilization Camp at Montgomery. Joy reigned supreme amongst the men. They had visions of returning to their homes and to their civilian occupations. This joyful anticipation was not realized for with the exception of Batteries "A" and "C", First Alabama Field Artillery, which organizations were mustered out of the Service, the various units of the Guard were assigned in April, 1917,



BRIG. GEN. CHARLES R. BRICKEN
Commanding 1st Ala. Brigade, Ala. Nat. Guard, 1917.

to the duties of guarding railroad bridges, docks, and other important structures throughout the State. The First Alabama Infantry had headquarters at Mobile; the Second and Fourth had headquarters at Birmingham and Montgomery, respectively; and the First Alabama Cavalry maintained headquarters at Anniston. From these headquarters, patrols or details were sent out and were stationed at important and strategic places.

On July 5th, 1917, this duty terminated, and the troops were recalled to Montgomery. The journeys to Montgomery were made over-



BRIG. GEN. R. E. STEINER.
Commanding 1st Ala. Brigade, Ala. Nat. Guard, 1917.

land; that is, the First Infantry hiked from Mobile, the Second Infantry hiked from Birmingham, and the First Cavalry hiked from Anniston.

Muster into the Federal Service. The Alabama troopers were fast becoming veterans, and this fact stood them in well as they were soon to be engulfed in the World War.

On April 6th, 1917, a state of war was declared to exist between the United States and the German Empire. The Alabama National Guard contribution to this war was one regiment of Cavalry (15 troops),

three regiments of Infantry (15 companies per regiment), one Ambulance company, one Field Hospital, and one Camp Hospital. On August 5th, 1917, these troops were mustered into the Federal Service at Montgomery, and the Alabama National Guard ceased to exist. Five thousand and twenty-five (5,025) civilian-soldiers had answered the call of the Flag.

Of their activities in the World War, the State of Alabama has every reason to feel proud. Some one has tersely stated that they were "just tin soldiers, but mighty avengers of wrongs done humanity."

PERSONALITIES

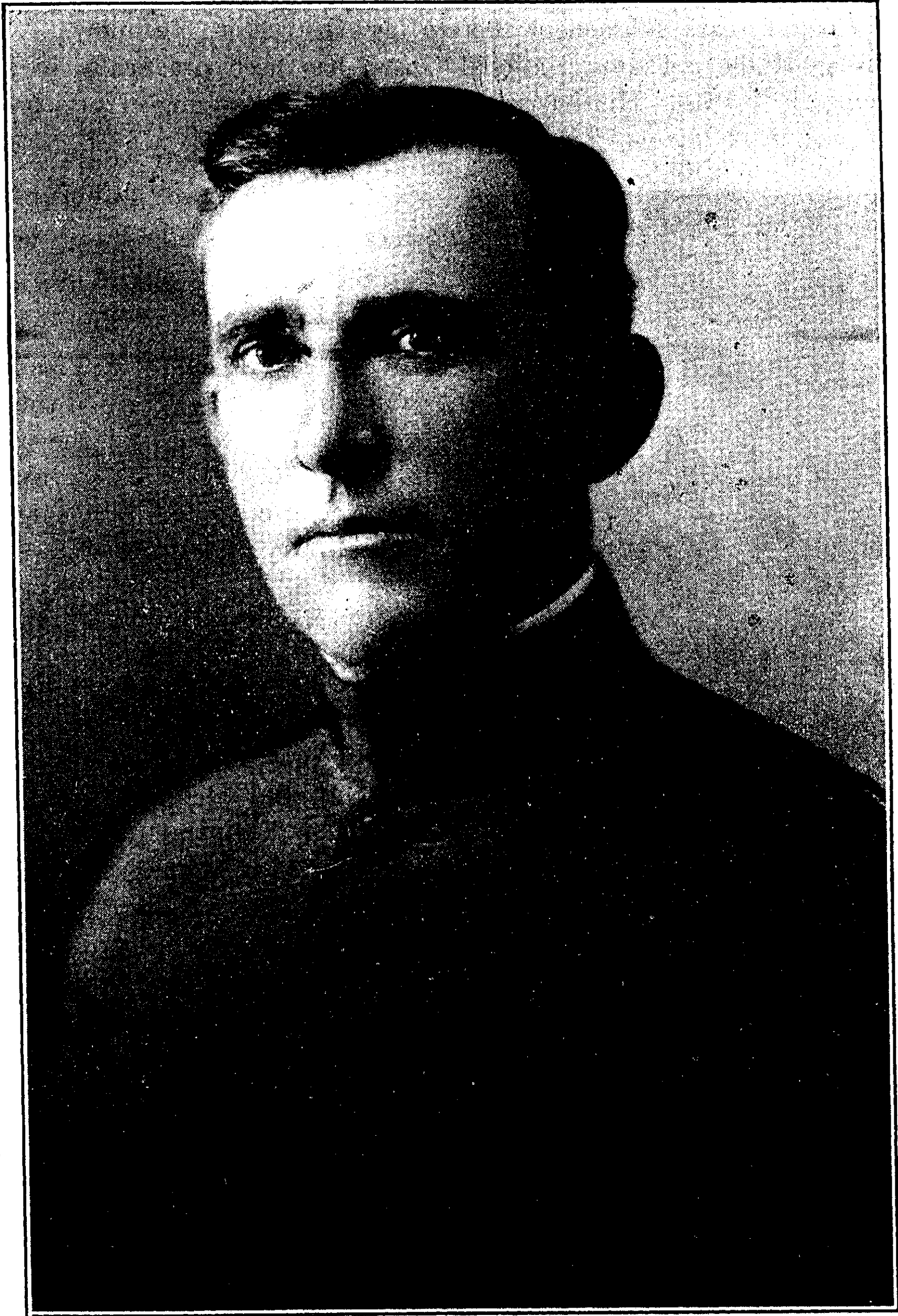
Conspicuous in the affairs of the Alabama National Guard during the period of this resume were the Honorable Emmett O'Neal, Governor of Alabama from 1911 to 1915, and the Honorable Charles Henderson, Governor of Alabama from 1915 to 1919. These two Governors by their activities and by their support proved conclusively that they were vitally interested in the progress and in the development of the Guard.

Brigadier General Joseph B. Sculley, Adjutant General from 1911 to 1915; Brigadier General Graph G. Hubbard, Adjutant General from 1915 to 1918, and Brigadier General Virgil V. Evans, Adjutant General from 1918 to 1919, as heads of the State Military Establishment, were men of the highest attainment. Their services and their efforts were characterized by military foresight and efficiency. Their success in office was measured by the wonderful progress and development made by the Guard.

Brigadier General W. J. Vaiden, Inspector General, Brigadier Generals Lewis V. Clark, Charles R. Bricken, and Robert E. Steiner, the latter three listed in chronological sequence of service as commander of the First Alabama Brigade, were men of merit and distinction. They were important factors in shaping the destiny of the Alabama National Guard prior to and during the World War.

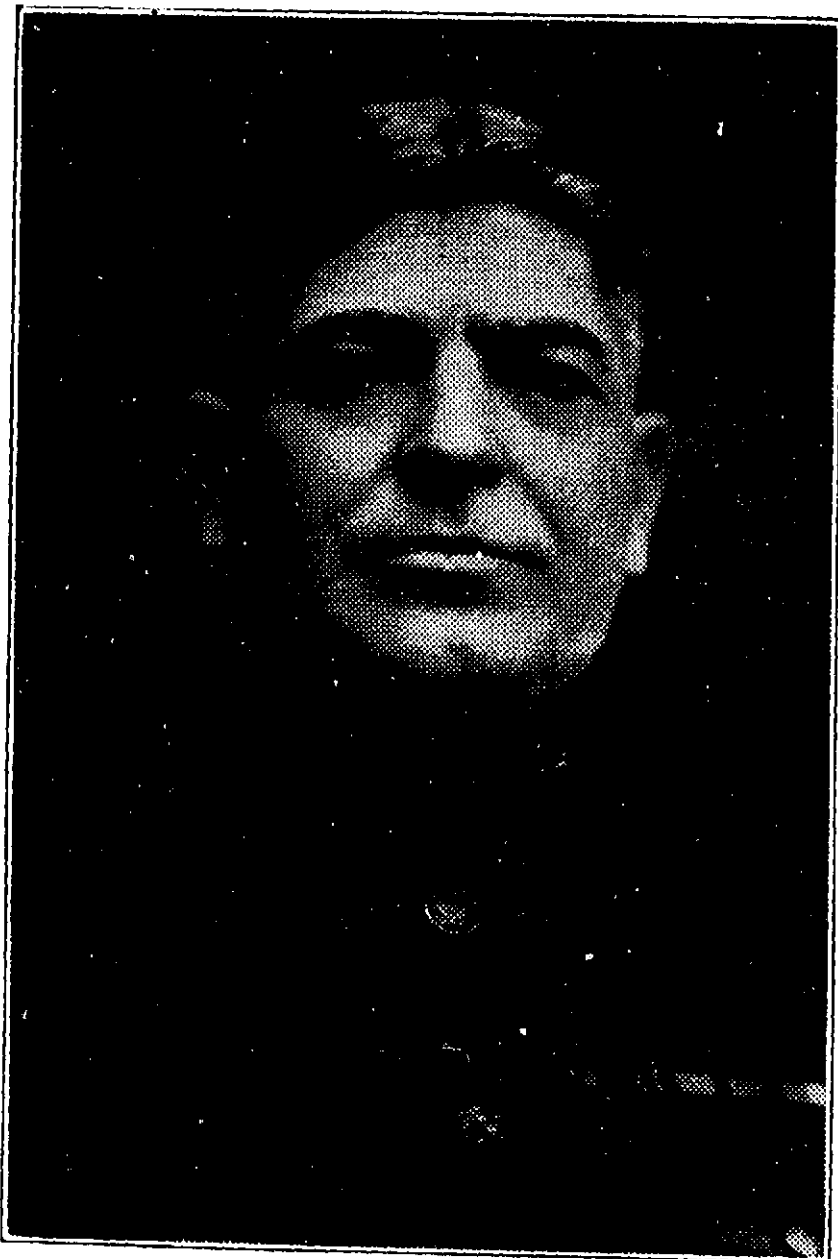
Colonel Bibb Graves, commanding officer of the Alabama Cavalry regiment and after conversion, the 117th Field Artillery, was a man of great military accomplishments, and possessed to a fine degree inestimable qualities of leadership.

Captain William P. Screws, 26th Infantry, U. S. Army, in 1915, later Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel of the Fourth Alabama Infantry, and later still Colonel of the 167th Infantry in France during the World



COL. BIBB GRAVES,
117th Field Artillery, A. E. F.

War, played an important part in the affairs of the Alabama National Guard. Colonel Screws served many years prior to the World War and several years subsequent thereto as Instructor, Infantry. The training of the Alabama National Guard has been practically in his keeping since 1910. His unerring ability and his untiring efforts have been prominent factors in the success of the Guard.



COL. WM. P. SCREWS,
Commanding 167th Inf. Reg., A. E. F.

There are many other officers and enlisted men who served with the Guard during this pre-war period and gave their best efforts to its promotion and success. Many of these men have now passed the age of active service. Their lives have been enriched by a splendid military background.

ORGANIZATION—1919-1930

The Alabama National Guard was reorganized after the World War in accordance with the National Defense Act of 1916, and amendments thereto. The first organizations authorized were the State Staff Corps and Departments, and the 167th Infantry Regiment. The actual organization of units in selected and particular places began on July 1, 1919. Beginning with that date and on to the present time, new organizations, reorganizations, and conversions of National Guard units have been consummated as the exigencies of the Service have required.

At the present time there are located in the State of Alabama, the following units and branches of the National Guard:

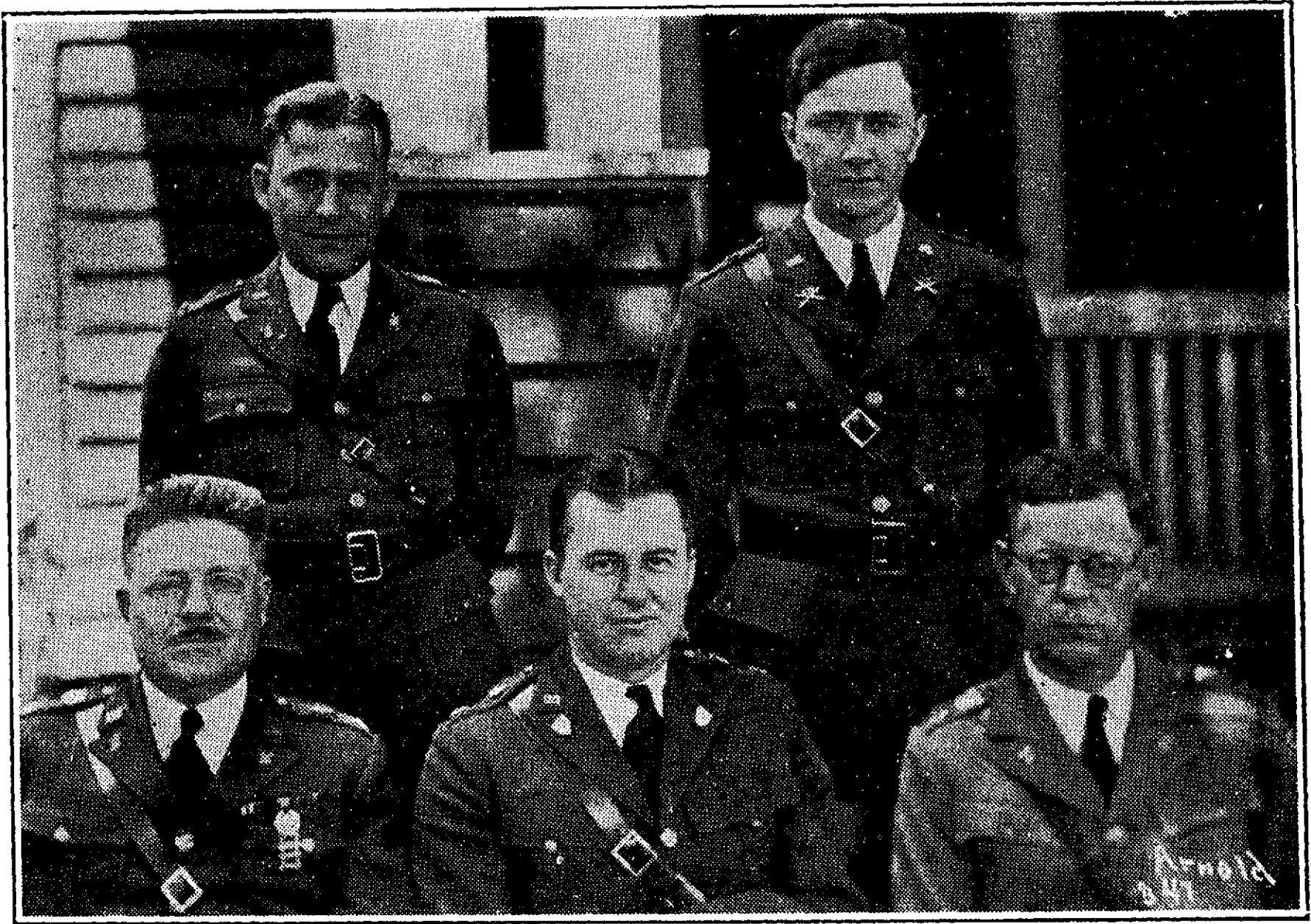
- Adjutant General's Department & State Staff Corps
- Headquarters, 31st Infantry Division (Alabama Section)
- Headquarters & Headquarters Detachment, Special Troops, 31st Inf. Div.
- Headquarters Company, 21st Infantry Division
- 31st Signal Company

31st Tank Company
121st Motor Transport Company
111th Motor Repair Section
106th Motorcycle Company
106th Ordnance Maintenance Company
106th Observation Squadron
106th Photo Section
Medical Department Detachment, 106th Observation Squadron
Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 62nd Infantry Brigade
167th Infantry Regiment
Headquarters, 56th Field Artillery (Alabama Section)
117th Field Artillery Regiment
106th Ammunition Train
Headquarters Troop, 23rd Cavalry Division
106th Veterinary Company
116th Ambulance Company, Motorized
127th Engineer Battalion, Mounted

The above units or organizations are equitably distributed over the State. In the extreme northern part of the State, at Huntsville, Hartselle, and Athens, there is located the 127th Engineer Battalion. In the northern and central sections of the State, at Montgomery, Opelika, Gadsden, Talladega, Tuscaloosa, Greensboro, Selma, Guntersville, Albertville, Jacksonville, Ensley, and Birmingham, there are located the units of the 167th Infantry Regiment. In the southern part of Alabama, at Florala, Enterprise, Dothan, Andalusia, Greenville, Evergreen, Luverne, Geneva, and Troy, there are located the units of the 117th Field Artillery Regiment. The 31st Infantry units and Special Troops are located at Mobile and Ozark. The Air Corps units are located at Birmingham. The 121st Motor Transport Company is located at Fort Deposit. The 111th Motor Repair Section is located at Montgomery. The 106th Ordnance Maintenance Company is located at Mobile; the 106th Ammunition Train at Elba, and the 106th Motorcycle Company at Foley. No section of the State is far removed from a National Guard organization.

The present numerical strength of the Alabama National Guard is 227 officers, 2 warrant officers, and 2,595 enlisted men, a total of 2,824. The strength of the Guard is determined at all times by enforced restrictions of the War Department Militia Bureau. If this State were allowed additional personnel, it would be an easy matter to

recruit same. At the present time, several Alabama towns and cities are desirous of obtaining National Guard units.



ASSISTANTS ON DUTY WITH ADJUTANT GENERAL OF ALABAMA

Bottom Row—left to right—Lt. Col. Ulric N. James, Lt. Col. Wm. A. Gayle and Capt. Frank S. Land. Standing—left to right—First Lt. Bert H Heilpern and First Lt. Thomas R. Burroughs.

In a comparison of the present National Guard with that of pre-war status, we find noticeable differences. Prior to the War, the commissioned officer had no Federal status. Now he must be Federally recognized before he can function as a National Guard officer. Now, the men are paid for attending Armory Drills. For one and one-half hours service at a weekly Armory Drill, soldiers of the Alabama National Guard receive pay equivalent to one day's pay of Regular Army soldiers. Before the War, the National Guard received no pay for attending Armory Drills. Prior to the War, the men were required to purchase dress uniforms. Now the Federal Government is providing the National Guard with the latest roll-collar uniform. Prior to the War, units as a whole were allotted to the various States. Now units of a Division or Brigade are divided between States. At the present time, the 31st Division covers the States of Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Within this Division are the majority of the Alabama Units. The present allowances from the Federal Government are far more liberal than they were in the past.

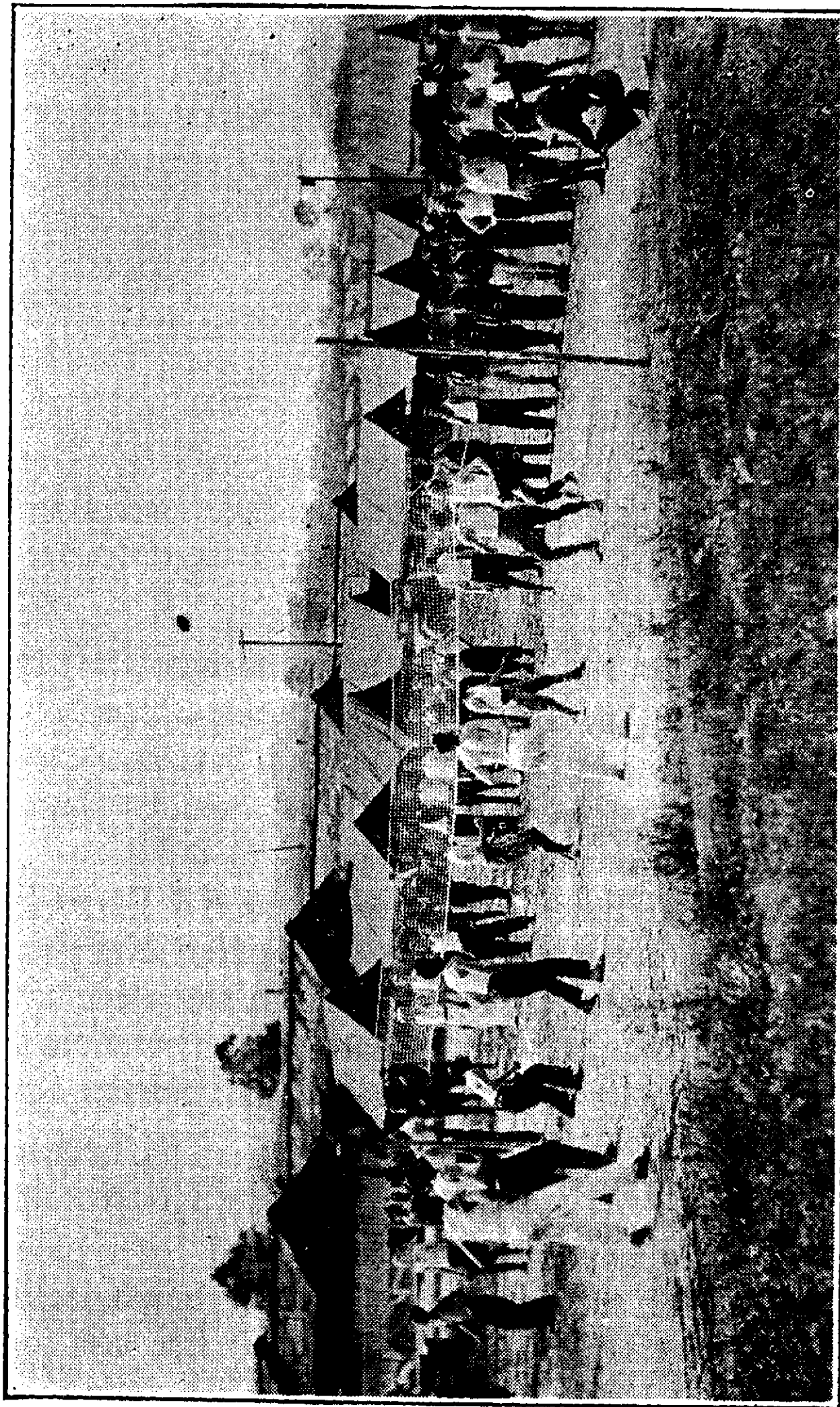
PERSONNEL

In the personnel of the Alabama National Guard, there can be found the highest type of citizenry of this State. A careful analysis of the enlistment records of the enlisted men and reports on Armory and Field Training reveal that the personnel, from 1919 to the present date, has been secured from the best element of a National Guard community. The morale attained by all organizations throughout these years has been a matter of pride; a matter for which regimental, battalion, and unit commanders, and Regular Army Instructors should be commended.

The personnel of the Guard is engaged in such vocations as farming, attending schools and colleges, clerical work, mechanical work, salesmanship, electrical work, textile work, banking, carpentry, steel work, school teaching, merchandise, painting, engineering, law, motor mechanics, animal and material caretakers, and ministers of the gospel. Very few of the guardsmen are employed as ordinary laborers as their abilities and qualifications are such as to warrant positions of a higher type.

The War Department, solicitous of the welfare of the Guard and eager to better prepare the personnel for the duties of citizen-soldiers, authorizes each year a certain number to attend Service Schools. An average of ten officers and enlisted men have attended these schools annually. These schools average three months in duration. The Infantry School is located at Fort Benning, Ga.; the Air Corps School at Chanute Field, Ill.; the Cavalry School at Fort Riley, Kansas, and the Field Artillery School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. While students at these schools, the Federal Government pays the attending personnel the same rate of pay as their respective grades in the Regular Service receive.

The Alabama National Guard from a health standpoint has reached a status of par excellence. It is required that each officer and enlisted man be vaccinated for smallpox and be immunized for typhoid fever. A record and the date of the vaccination and the immunization must be included in the service record of each man. In the last four years the hookworm treatment has been administered when found necessary. Due to the physical requirements that a person must measure up to for qualification or enlistment, and on account of the measures taken after enlistment to preserve one's health, the Alabama National Guard today is a force of healthy and vigorous soldiers.



ATHLETICS OF ALABAMA NATIONAL GUARD AT 1929 FIELD TRAINING ENCAMPMENT
AT FORT MCCLELLAN, ALA.

PROPERTY AND FINANCE

A brief financial statement of the Alabama National Guard perhaps would be worthwhile. There is on hand with the various organizations more than \$3,000,000.00 of Federal property. This property includes such items as clothing and equipment, airplanes, motor transport equipment, tanks, guns, horses, and miscellaneous supplies required for the maintenance of the Guard. The safekeeping and preservation of this property are entrusted to the commanding officers of the various units. The State of Alabama, through Legislative action, has provided a certain amount of State funds to promote the welfare of the Guard. These funds are for necessary purposes, and cover those projects for which Federal funds are not available. The annual amounts authorized by the State have ranged from \$24,000.00 in 1920 to \$94,000.00 in 1930. The Federal Government appropriates approximately six times more than the State amount. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, there was expended from Federal funds an amount in excess of \$500,000.00. These funds were expended for various, sundry, and required purposes. The principal items of expenditure were Armory Drill and Field Training pay to the Guard, procurement of horses and forage, pay of animal caretakers, pay of motor and airplane mechanics, subsistence and transportation in connection with Field Training Encampments, procurement of replacement supplies, construction and rental of target ranges, and many other items.

The State of Alabama and the Federal Government by the expenditures of these funds insure for this State a well trained and well armed force that is available for any emergency.

TRAINING OF THE GUARD—ARMORY AND FIELD

In the successful training of the troops, a praise none too great should be bestowed upon the Regular Army Instructors that have been assigned to this State since 1919. These Instructors, one or more for each branch of service, have been assigned to this State from the Regular Army. From the beginning these men have rendered valuable services in administration and tactical work, in the conduct of correspondence schools, in delivering lectures, and in giving personal instruction.

Since reorganization, maximum stress has been laid upon the training of the various units throughout the State, particular emphasis being placed on the thorough basic training of the individual. Training programs, both Armory and Field, have been based on this premise.

Much attention, both in Armory and Field Training, has been devoted to the subject of athletics. At the home stations of the various organizations, baseball, football, basket ball, and track teams have been organized. Interesting and wholesome competition has developed therefrom. High school athletes have been attracted to the organizations, and they, in turn, have attracted a high type of personnel.

In general it may be said that the training of the National Guard is progressing satisfactorily, and that higher and higher objectives are constantly being reached.

In connection with the 1928 Field Training Encampments of the Alabama National Guard, Colonel Duncan K. Major, Chief of Staff of the Fourth Corps Area, stated in a letter to the Adjutant General of Alabama as follows:

"I think that your camp was the most efficiently run of all the National Guard camps I visited this summer, and I believe that you have worked out the best scheme for the training of the National Guard at summer camps that I have ever seen."

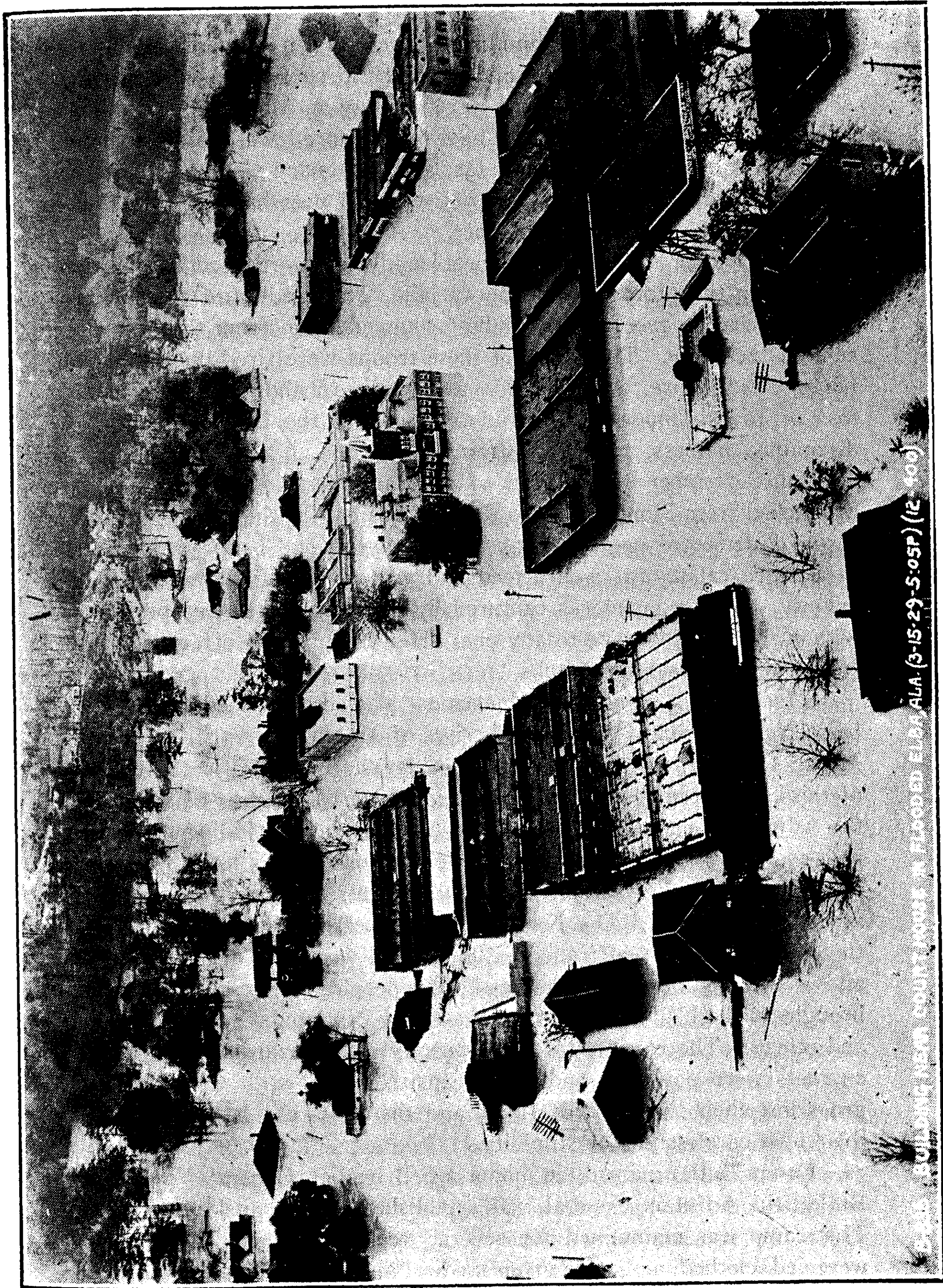
In connection with the 1929 Field Training Encampments of the Alabama National Guard, Colonel Major wrote the Adjutant General as follows:

"The Corps Area Commander has directed me to inform you that he considers the program of training, recreation, and athletics prepared for the annual field training of the Alabama National Guard, at Fort McClellan, August 4-18, 1929, one of the best programs issued for the training of the National Guard in this Corps Area during this year's summer training period. He has recommended it as a model to be followed by the National Guard of this Corps Area.

"The energy with which it was carried out and the results obtained are worthy of commendation. The saluting of the enlisted men, and the sanitary condition of the mess halls and kitchens were particularly to be commended."

EVENTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The period subsequent to the World War has been replete with activities. There have been many and varied happenings of far-reaching consequence. The Alabama National Guard has been used to protect or safeguard the interests of the State in connection with riots, strikes, floods, storms, protection of prisoners, and many other important duties. The following is a brief account of a few of such activities:



BUILDINGS NEAR COURT HOUSE IN FLOODED AREA, ELBA, ALA., MARCH 15, 1929.
(Photo by 4th Photo Section, Air Corps, Maxwell Field, Montgomery, Ala.)

In August, 1922, five hundred officers and men were called into active service to protect lives and property in connection with railway shopmen's strike. These troops were on duty at Albany and Birmingham for a continued period. The work required was of an arduous nature and required the greatest tact and diplomacy on the part of the National Guard personnel. The officers and men handled this situation in a most commendable manner.

On October 2, 1922, 55 officers and men were used to guard a prisoner in the Montgomery County jail. The conduct of the soldiers on this occasion received the highest commendation from the best citizens of the State. The fact that these troops were fired upon and did not return the fire, which would have in all probability resulted in the loss of life to innocent by-standers, indicates the highest quality of discipline, coolness, and self-restraint.

On September 1, 1928, two officers and eleven enlisted men were dispatched from Montgomery to Roba, Alabama, for the purpose of capturing a demented negro woman. This woman had barricaded herself in a negro cabin, was well armed and was terrifying the neighboring vicinity. This woman was captured by the National Guard personnel without harm being done to any one. Her capture was effected by the employment of tear-gas bombs.

Flood Duty. A notable achievement was accomplished by the Alabama National Guard in the flood crises of March and April, 1929. On March 14, 1929, the greatest and most devastating flood in the history of this State occurred. At the direction of the Governor of Alabama, the Adjutant General dispatched men and supplies, including boats and boat motors, to Elba, Alabama, for relief work. This town was completely submerged by water. The inhabitants were on housetops, in attics, and in trees. The National Guard personnel were the first to the scene of this great tragedy. The relief work was started at once and was carried on to great success. The people were rescued and were brought to highlands in boats operated by National Guard personnel and others. The rescuing of these people was a hazardous task as the currents were powerful and often capsized the boats. Only two negroes lost their lives in this flood, and their loss can be attributed to their own carelessness or stupidity.

Camp Butler named, in honor of Brigadier General Forrest E. Butler, the Adjutant General, was established on the outskirts of Elba. This camp was maintained for several weeks, and there the refugees were fed, clothed, and were given medical attention. This camp served also as headquarters for the National Guard relief personnel.

Acute flood situations also developed on March 14th and 15th, 1929, at Geneva, Garland, River Falls, Brewton, Benton, Flomaton, and at other points in the southern part of the State. National Guard troops and supplies were rushed to these points. In less than one week after the flood situations developed, more than one thousand Guardsmen were on duty at the various emergencies.

In the case of the Elba flood, it was necessary to establish martial law on account of the almost complete devastation of property and living accommodations. At Geneva, where the danger was great but not so destructive, it was necessary to concentrate a large force of Guardsmen.

The Alabama National Guard in these flood crises supplied troops for the rescuing of the marooned citizens of the flood areas, furnished provisions and supplies to the needy, provided transportation by airplane and motor vehicle for the delivery of such supplies to the refugees, provided medical supplies and attention to the suffering, and coordinated and harmonized the activities of other agencies, such as the Red Cross, State Health Department, and private individuals.

The knowledge that human lives were saved and that human suffering was averted on account of their activities in this flood has rewarded the Alabama National Guard to an immeasurable degree.

Presidential Inauguration of 1929. Eleven officers, two warrant officers, and one hundred and sixty-eight men of the Guard, together with the Governor and his Staff, represented this State at the Inauguration of the President of the United States on March 4th, 1929. In making the selection of this personnel, great care was exercised to see that the very best or the pick of the Guard was included. The officers were selected from the various branches by the Regimental or Battalion commanders, and the men were selected by the unit commanders. The officers selected were men of the highest type, having been designated on account of special merit or qualification. The enlisted men were selected also on account of special merit. Strict attendance at drills, soldierly bearing, and neatness of dress or uniform were factors in their selection. A competent band selected from the 167th Infantry Regiment and the 117th Field Artillery Regiment was included in the Inaugural contingent. The National Guard of Alabama participated in the Inaugural Parade, and even though the parade was made in a cold and incessant rain, they acquitted themselves with honor. Commendations on account of the noticeable and praiseworthy manner in which the Guardsmen of Alabama acquitted themselves in this parade and while in Washington have been received by the Adjutant General of

Alabama. This trip to Washington has boosted the morale of the Guard as a whole, and has stimulated interest and attendance at drills. The following quoted letter in connection with the attendance of the National Guard personnel at the 1929 Presidential Inauguration was written the Adjutant General of Alabama on March 7th, 1929, by General Charles P. Summerall, General of the Armies, and Chief of Staff of the United States Army:

"I take this opportunity of extending to you my congratulations on the soldierly appearance, marching, and bearing of those organizations of the Alabama National Guard participating in the Inaugural Parade. I am sure that the general public appreciated their splendid contribution to the Inaugural ceremonies."

CONCLUSION

The story of the Alabama National Guard since its reorganization in 1919 would be incomplete without making reference to the men who have made possible the growth and progress of the State Military Establishment. The Honorable Thomas E. Kilby, Governor of Alabama, 1919-1923, the Honorable William W. Brandon, Governor of Alabama, 1923-1927, the Honorable Bibb Graves, Governor of Alabama, 1927 to date, have at all times displayed continuous efforts to increase the efficiency of the Guard. The cooperation of these Governors has meant more to the prosperity and growth of the Guard than any other one factor.

Others, too, with loyal and unselfish devotion, have contributed mightily to the cause of the Alabama National Guard. The organization, the establishment, and the maintenance of the Guard during the after-war period have rested upon their shoulders. Chronologically, these men are listed as follows: Colonel Hartley A. Moon, Adjutant General of Alabama, 1919-1927; Brigadier General Forrest E. Butler, Adjutant General of Alabama, 1927 to date; Brigadier General Walter E. Bare, Commanding 62nd Infantry Brigade; Colonel William P. Screws, Senior Instructor of Alabama National Guard, 1919-1926 and 1929 to date (Colonel Screws commanded the 167th Infantry, Alabama's Own, during the World War); Major Joseph M. Dickerson, U. S. Property and Disbursing Officer, Alabama, 1919-1927, and Lieutenant Colonel Ulric N. James, U. S. Property and Disbursing Officer, Alabama, 1927 to date.

Prominent also in the affairs, progress and destiny of the Guard in the after-war period are the following named officers:

Colonel Percy S. McClung, Commanding 117th Field Artillery Regiment.

Colonel Walter M. Thompson, Commanding 167th Infantry Regiment.
Colonel George A. Glenn (retired), former Commander of 167th Infantry.

Lt. Colonel William E. Persons, Senior Instructor, Alabama, 1926-1929.

Lt. Colonel James A. Webb, Executive Officer, 167th Infantry.

Lt. Colonel Joe K. Brantley, Executive Officer, 117th Field Artillery.

Lt. Colonel John C. Persons, G-3, 31st Infantry Division.

Lt. Colonel Peterson B. Jarman, I. G. D., 31st Infantry Division.

Lt. Colonel James F. Cogdell, F. D., 31st Infantry Division.

Lt. Colonel John T. Moore, S. C., 31st Infantry Division.

Lt. Colonel William A. Gayle, Asst. Adjutant General, 1927 to date.

Major Sumpter Smith, Commanding 106th Observation Squadron.

Major Everette H. Jackson, Executive Officer, 62nd Infantry Brigade.

Major Raymond W. Jones, Commanding 127th Engineer Battalion.

Major James J. Alvarez, Commanding Special Troops, 31st Infantry Division.

Major Milton L. Wood, State Staff Corps and Departments.

Major Charlie C. McCall, State Staff Corps and Departments.

Major H. B. Wilkerson, State Staff Corps and Departments.

Major Richard L. Lollar, State Staff Corps and Departments.

Major Cornelius S. Whittelsey, 167th Infantry.

Major M. Torrey Jemison, Commanding First Battalion, 167th Infantry.

Major Joe Starnes, Commanding Second Battalion, 167th Infantry.

Major Heath L. McMeans, Commanding Third Battalion, 167th Infantry.

Major Gilmer H. Moore, Commanding Medical Dept. Detachment, 167th Infantry.

Major William A. Jeffery, Commanding First Battalion, 117th Field Artillery.

Major Albert A. Carmichael, Commanding 2nd Battalion, 117th Field Artillery.

Major Henry B. Burdeshaw, Commanding Medical Detachment, 117th Field Artillery.

Many other officers and enlisted men, in addition to those named above, have contributed for the betterment of the Guard. They have given unreservedly their efforts, resources, and love to this service. These officers and men have and are making military history for the State of Alabama.

LIST OF GOVERNORS OF ALABAMA FROM 1819 TO DATE. ALSO LIST OF ADJUTANT GENERALS WHO HAVE
SERVED UNDER THEM DURING THIS PERIOD.

Governor and Commander-in-Chief	Date	Adjutant General	Date
1. William Wyatt Bibb	1819-1820	Carter B. Harrison, Brig. General	1819-1823
2. Thomas Bibb	1820-1821		
3. Israel Pickens	1821-1825	Isaac Wellborn, Brig. General	1823-1827
4. John Murphy	1825-1829	John B. Hogan, Brig. General	6 Mo., 1827
		James P. Carroll, Brig. General	1827-1831
5. Gabriel Moore	1829-1831		
6. Samuel B. Moore	1831-		
7. John Gayle	1831-1835	James G. Carroll, Brig. General	1831-1835
8. Clement Comer Clay	1835-1837	James G. Carroll, Brig. General	1835-1839
9. Hugh McVay	1837-		
10. Arthur Pendleton Bagby	1837-1841	James G. Carroll, Brig. General	1839-1843
11. Benjamin Fitzpatrick	1841-1845		
12. Joshua Lanier Martin	1845-1847		
13. Reuben Chapman	1847-1849	James G. Carroll, Brig. General	1847-1851
14. Henry Watkins Collier	1849-1853	John J. Mickle, Brig. General	1851-1856
15. John Anthony Winston	1853-1857		
16. Andrew Barry Moore	1857-1861	T. E. McIver, Brig. General	1856-1860
17. John Gill Shorter	1861-1863	A. P. Nesmith, Brig. General	1860-1861
		Joel Riggs, Brig. General	1861-
18. Thomas Hill Watts	1863-1865	Hugh P. Watson, Brig. General	1861-1865
19. Lewis E. Parsons	1865 6 Mo.		
20. Robert Miller Patton	1865-1868	John Collins, Brigadier General	1865-1866
21. William H. Smith	1868-1870	George E. Brewer, Brig. General	1866-1870
22. Robert P. Lindsay	1870-1872	William W. Allen, Brig. General	1870-1872
23. David P. Lewis	1872-1874	Marshall G. Candee, Brig. General	1872-1874
24. George S. Houston	1874-1878	Thomas N. Maccartney, Colonel	1874-1878
25. Reuben W. Cobb	1878-1882	John F. White, Colonel	1878-1881
26. Edward A. O'Neal	1882-1886	Henry C. Tompkins, Colonel	1881-1883
		James N. Gilmer, Colonel	1883-1886
27. Thomas Seay	1886-1890	John D. Roquemore, Colonel	1886-1887
		Alexander B. Garland, Colonel	1887-1888

28. Thomas G. Jones	1890-1894	Charles P. Jones, Colonel	1888-1894
29. William C. Oates	1894-1896	Harvey E. Jones, Colonel	1894-1896
30. Joseph F. Johnston	1896-1900	Robert F. Ligon, Jr., Brig. General	1896-1899
31. William J. Samford	1900 5 Mo.	William W. Brandon, Brig. General	1899-1907
32. William D. Jelks	1901-1907	Bibb Graves, Brig. General	1907-1911
33. Braxton Bragg Comer	1907-1911	Joseph B. Scully, Brig. General	1911-1915
34. Emmett O'Neal	1911-1915	Graph J. Hubbard, Brig. General	1915-1918
35. Charles Henderson	1915-1919	Virgil V. Evans, Brig General	1918-1919
36. Thomas E. Kilby	1919-1923	Hartley A. Moon, Colonel, A. G. D., S. S. C and D. and O. R. C. U. S. A.	1919-1923
37. William W. Brandon	1923-1927	Hartley A. Moon	1923-1927
38. Bibb Graves	1927-	Forrest E. Butler, Brig. General	1927-

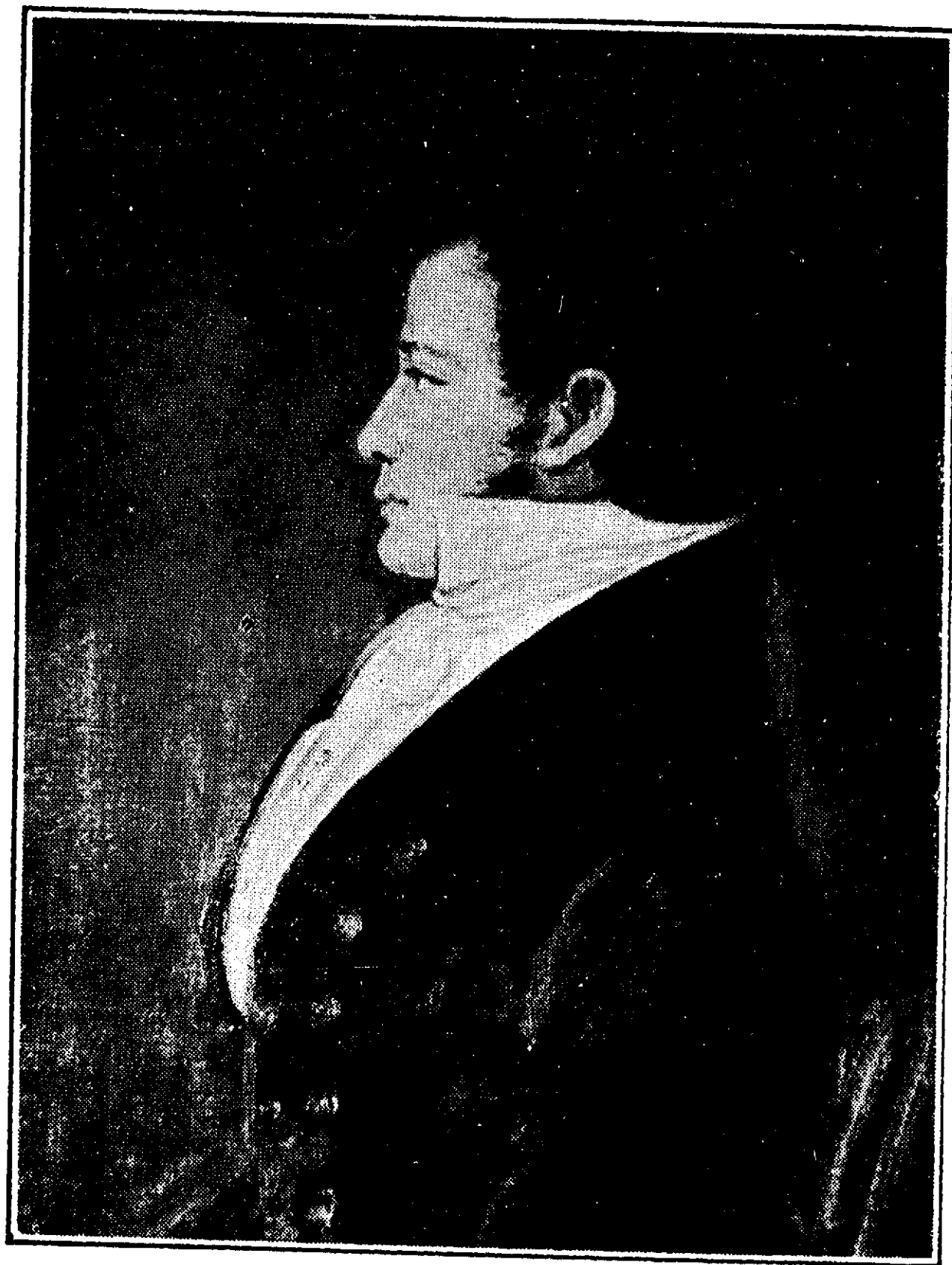
SOUTHERN EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL

Embodying the Diary of Jennie R. Keyes Montgomery, Alabama.

By PETER A. BRANNON

(This study was made at the request of Dr. Wyatt H. Blake, a zealous member of the Board of Trustees of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History since its creation in 1901. The footnotes are by the author of the article.—EDITOR.)

Whether or not the political unrest incident to the changed conditions following the surrender of the Confederate Armies in the spring of 1865, prompted the consideration of a large number of former leaders



COL. CHARLES G. GUNTER
From Portrait by Anne Goldthwaite

in the South to emigrate to Brazil, is not yet established. Economic conditions, no doubt, played a large part in the arrival at a determination to go to this foreign country. Many of the men who went had formerly served in the Confederate Army, and had lost much of their property through the results of the War. They had accumulated their fortunes through that business popularly known as "planting", and they sought to begin life anew. For the most part they were men of families, and

their surviving descendants, at least, credit them with feeling that they

wished to re-establish themselves on the social scale which had so characteristically surrounded them in the South Atlantic and Gulf States.

The Southern Colonization Society, with headquarters at Edgefield Court House, South Carolina, Major Joseph Abney,⁽¹⁾ late Colonel of the 22nd South Carolina Infantry, C. S. A., president, was in existence as early as the first Monday in September, 1865. Major Robert Meriwether and Dr. H. A. Shaw were sent to the Empire of Brazil by this organization. They left Augusta, Georgia, on the 18th of October. They secured passports at Washington City and took passage on the "North America" a steamer of the United States and Brazil Line. Leaving New York City on October 30th, they arrived at Rio de Janeiro November 26th. Their report states that they met several gentlemen from the South who had been in Brazil several months on the same mission, notably, to examine conditions and report as to climate, pro-

¹*Joseph Abney* was the son of John Abney and his second wife, Agatha Griffith; grand-son of Paul and Eleanor (*Hamilton*) Abney, originally from Virginia, who settled on the Saluda River, S. C., great-grand-son of John Abney, who emigrated from Virginia to Saluda River. John Abney, Sr., and Paul, his son, were soldiers of the Revolution in South Carolina.

Major Abney studied law first under Tom Perrin of Abbeville, graduated in law in 1842, and entered the practice with John A. Calhoun at Abbeville. After one year, he formed a partnership with George McDuffie at Edgefield. Prior to the War with Mexico he served in various capacities, at one time intendent, and as editor of the *Edgefield Advertiser*.

He was 3rd Lieutenant in Company D. Palmetto Regiment in the War with Mexico. He served as Secretary to Colonel Butler, was wounded at Cherubusco, and for his conduct, received a medal from the Legislature and a sword from his fellow citizens. He served in the State Legislature. He entered the Confederate Army as Captain of the Edgefield Blues, 22nd Regiment South Carolina Infantry. He was, for a time, Colonel of that organization and later detailed to command an unattached Battalion of Sharp Shooters under General Pemberton. He was wounded at Drury's Bluff in May 1864, and never recovered from this wound, spending the rest of his days in a rolling chair.

Immediately after Lee's surrender, he entered vigorously into the plans of Brazilian emigration. At the time of his death, Feb. 2, 1870, he was serving as President of the Southern Colonization Society.

He married Susan Margaret Miller, daughter of Charles Wilds Miller, of Marion, S. C., and a relative of Governor Stephen D. Miller of South Carolina, and Mrs. Sarah H. Gayle, wife of Governor Gayle, of Alabama. Two daughters survive this union—Agatha, who married Prof. T. E. Woodson, of Virginia, and Eleanor, who married Vivian M. Duke, of Texas.

ductions, laws, religion, etc.⁽²⁾ Dr. J. McF. Gaston of South Carolina, had prior to that time, made an extensive tour into the interior of Sao Paulo. About the end of the year 1865, two Texans, Frank M. Mullen and William Bowen, visited Brazil. They made an extensive survey and their report is dated at Rio de Janeiro, May 24, 1866. The Rev. Ballard S. Dunn of Louisiana,⁽³⁾ was in Brazil on the 9th of November,

²The Southern Colonization Society had among its membership, Dr. Hugh A. Shaw, Major Isaac Boles, Mr. B. C. Bryan, Mr. William M. Williams, Mr. T. B. Reese, Mr. Harrison S. Strom, Dr. T. J. Teague, John L. Nicholson, William F. Durisoe, Benjamin F. Mays, Henry G. Arthur, D. F. McEwin, Thomas J. Davis, S. J. M. Clark, Capt. Tillman Watson, Jr., W. J. Gardner, Charles Glover, John Sentell, Esq., Capt. W. H. Brunson, Dr. W. D. Jennings, Mr. G. W. Morgan, John R. Carwile, Major Robert Meriwether.

The officers were:

President—Major Joseph Abney,

Vice-President—Colonel D. L. Shaw,

Secretary—Colonel A. P. Butler,

Corresponding Secretary—Major John E. Bacon,

Treasurer—Thomas B. Reese.

It is not recorded who of this list went to Brazil. Thomas J. Adams and Hiram Q. Adams went down with Colonel Meriwether, but did not remain very long.

³*Library of Southern Literature*, New Orleans, Martin and Hoyt Co., v. 15, p. 132:

Dunn, Ballard S. Clergyman.

He published a volume entitled "Brazil, the Home for Southerners", (New Orleans, 1866). He held the degree of D.D.

Duncan, Herman Cope.

The Diocese of Louisiana: Some of Its History, 1858-1888, New Orleans, A. W. Hyatt, 1888, p. 232:

"St. Philip's Mission," New Orleans.

On the 4th September, 1859, the Reverend Ballard S. Dunn began to gather a congregation in Odd Fellows' Hall. There are thirty-five families connected with the congregation.

The Civil War coming on before this congregation had acquired a home of its own, dissipated it. The Font was given to Trinity Church, and is now used at that parish."

Dunn, Ballard S., (Strawbridge's Louisiana) Inf. En., Chaplain, F. & S.

"Roll for April 9 to June 30, 1861. Present. Atupd. Chaplain June 25, 1861. Absent without leave (beyond leave), since July 31, 1861. Roll for September and October, 1861. Reported absent without leave since last muster. No official return of his whereabouts."

Entry in Booth, Andrew B.,

Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands. New Orleans, 1920. V. 2, p. 716.

Allibone's critical dictionary of English literature and British and American authors. Supplement, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1896, v. 1, p. 523.

"Dunn, Rev. Ballard S. 1. Brazil, the Home for Southerners. New York, 1866, 12 mo.

2. How to Solve the Mormon Problem, New York, 1879, 8 vo."

(Data furnished by Mrs. R. J. Usher, Tulane University, New Orleans.)

"Ballard Dunn's Colony was of shorter duration than ours of the Doce. It was situated on the Iguape River in Sao Paulo."—Mrs. Keyes' Manuscript.

1865, on a similar mission. Major Meriwether's report makes the characteristic reference that at the date of his visit: "Two gentlemen from the States, one from Alabama and the other from Louisiana, have already purchased and settled here." It will subsequently develop that the two men referred to were Charles Gunter⁽⁴⁾ of Montgomery and Reverend Dunn of New Orleans. However, it is established that while they may have purchased and were considered as established, they had not at the time removed there. No date is given, but it would seem that this was prior to the 1st of January, 1866. A statement sent from Rio de Janeiro and entitled "History of Southern Immigration to Brazil" about the latter part of January, 1866, says: "Before the War large numbers of southern planters and efficient artisans premeditated a pioneer visit to Brazil. Collapse of Confederate States intensified this feeling, elicited much correspondence and associations for emigration formed in many communities. 19 Associations put their fortunes in the hand of General William Wallace Wood of Mississippi. Enthusiastic receptions in Rio de Janeiro, music, church bells and crowds in streets, Dixie played for Wood, and special privileges given, land offered at 22cts an acre."

Lansford W. Hastings published in Mobile, in the spring of 1867,

⁴Charles Grandison Gunter was born in Chatham County, North Carolina, February 28, 1806, and died in Brazil, in that village settled by him in which to promote his Colony—Linhares, Rio Doce Province, August 19, 1883. He came to Alabama in 1833, and settled on Pintlala Creek in Montgomery County. He was an extensive planter and a man of financial means.

Mr. Gunter's most outstanding contribution to the history of his state was the securing of rights of property to married women in their own name. This Act was passed by the Legislature of 1847, of which he was a member, and was one of the first of its kind in the United States. Mr. Gunter was one of the organizers of the *Montgomery True Blues*, a military company in Montgomery which has been in existence since the Indian War of 1836.

Mr. Gunter was one of the first of that large group of Alabamians to go to Brazil at the close of the War in 1865, and of the number who went down as members of Gunter's Colony on the Doce River, he and his son Basil Manly, were the only ones to remain. Both died there and are buried in Brazil.

Basil Manly Gunter was Consular Agent of the United States to Victoria in the Province of Espirito Santo, by appointment July 11, 1889. He was at one time connected with the leading Railway System in Brazil and there amassed a fortune.

an "Emigrant's Guide to Brazil."⁵ Mr. Hastings was a California pioneer, a member of the Constitutional Convention of that State in 1849, and is said to have served in the Confederate Army. It is claimed that he had made two trips to Brazil and had secured a large grant of land, and died either on board ship or soon after its arrival at Para.⁶ The Rev. Dunn published "A Practical Account of What the Author and Others who Visited that Country for the same Object, saw and did while in that Empire." He called it "Brazil, the Home for Southerners." It is known that he resided in Sao Paulo in 1869, though how much later cannot be said. Major Robert Meriwether,⁷ who went out in 1865, was residing in the Empire many years later.

The flattering reports of these advance agents doubtless had much to do with the large and steady emigration of southern families to Brazil over the period extending to 1871 and 72. However, it is known that as late as the year 1890 families were still settling in Brazil "from the States."

⁵The preface of Mr. Hastings' book is dated at Mobile, June 1867. It is, in a great measure, the embodiment of what appears to be notes made on the spot, followed by 120 pages of statistical data, compiled either while in Brazil, or from reports furnished by the Brazilian Government.

It evidences an effort on his part to show a true picture of conditions in the Empire. Compared with other accounts, while ambiguous, it does not appear to exaggerate conditions.

The only copy of this volume known to the author is owned by Albert A. Spence, Jr., a grand-son of Major Hastings. It was loaned to the Department of Archives and History by William J. Hunsaker, an Attorney of Los Angeles, California, and a grand-nephew of Major Hastings. Mr. Hunsaker has been very zealous in his courteous efforts in facilitating the author in this study.

⁶*Major Lansford Warren Hastings* was born in Knox County, Ohio, of New England ancestry. He went to Missouri in 1842 where he joined an emigrant train to Oregon, thence to California and was in command of the party guarding the train. The following year he took out a similar group. After the third trip, he settled, Christmas day, 1845, at Sutter's Fort, California. He practiced law in San Francisco in 1847 and 48; was a member of the Constitutional Convention 1849, and is credited with having been a factor in fixing the eastern boundary of the state. In the late 50's he resided in Yuma, Arizona. He strongly urged the Secretary of War of the Confederate States of America, to allow him to organize a force to retake and hold the territory of Arizona and to establish and maintain a Confederate Territorial Government there. The records do not disclose any success in this venture.

After the failure of his first effort to carry down a colony in 1866, he proceeded to Brazil alone and on reaching there, secured a large tract of land on the Upper Amazon River in the Province of Para. On this land it was his purpose to settle families from the Southern States.

Family tradition is that he died at sea on board a ship loaded with his emigrants proceeding to his reservation.

⁷*Major Robert Meriwether*, Meriwether's Battalion, South Carolina Reserves, C. S. A.

That there was no universal determination to go is evinced by the attitude of such men as General Wade Hampton of South Carolina, who advised "his late companions in arms to tarry a season and endeavor to right up the State and improve the conditions here before they abandon the lands and scanty possessions, and seek for new homes under brighter skies and serener heavens of the far South." Although conditions in Alabama were equally as deplorable (so far as the corruption of politics was concerned) as those in South Carolina, there were many in Montgomery who counseled against this move. To offset this many men of the temperament of Colonel Charles Gunter who were classed as "irreconcilables" insisted on going to Brazil. The writer is not convinced that the statement sent out from Rio de Janeiro in 1866 that "before the War large numbers of southern planters and efficient artisans premeditated a pioneer visit to Brazil," is true. Certainly not for the purpose of residing in Brazil was there any "large number of southern planters" anticipating this move. Social conditions were too roseate up to 1860 to have caused such thoughts. It is true that political conditions were beginning to agitate the minds of the leaders in the cities, but the southern planter was not a city dweller. The emancipation of slaves and the inability of men of means to secure labor to carry forward their plans, was without doubt, the fomenting cause for such widespread preparation to move, after the reports of these emigrant agents.

The government of Brazil appears to have immediately grasped the opportunity and to have encouraged in every possible manner, the bringing of foreigners to their country. Under a "Favors to Emigrants"⁽⁸⁾ statement is:

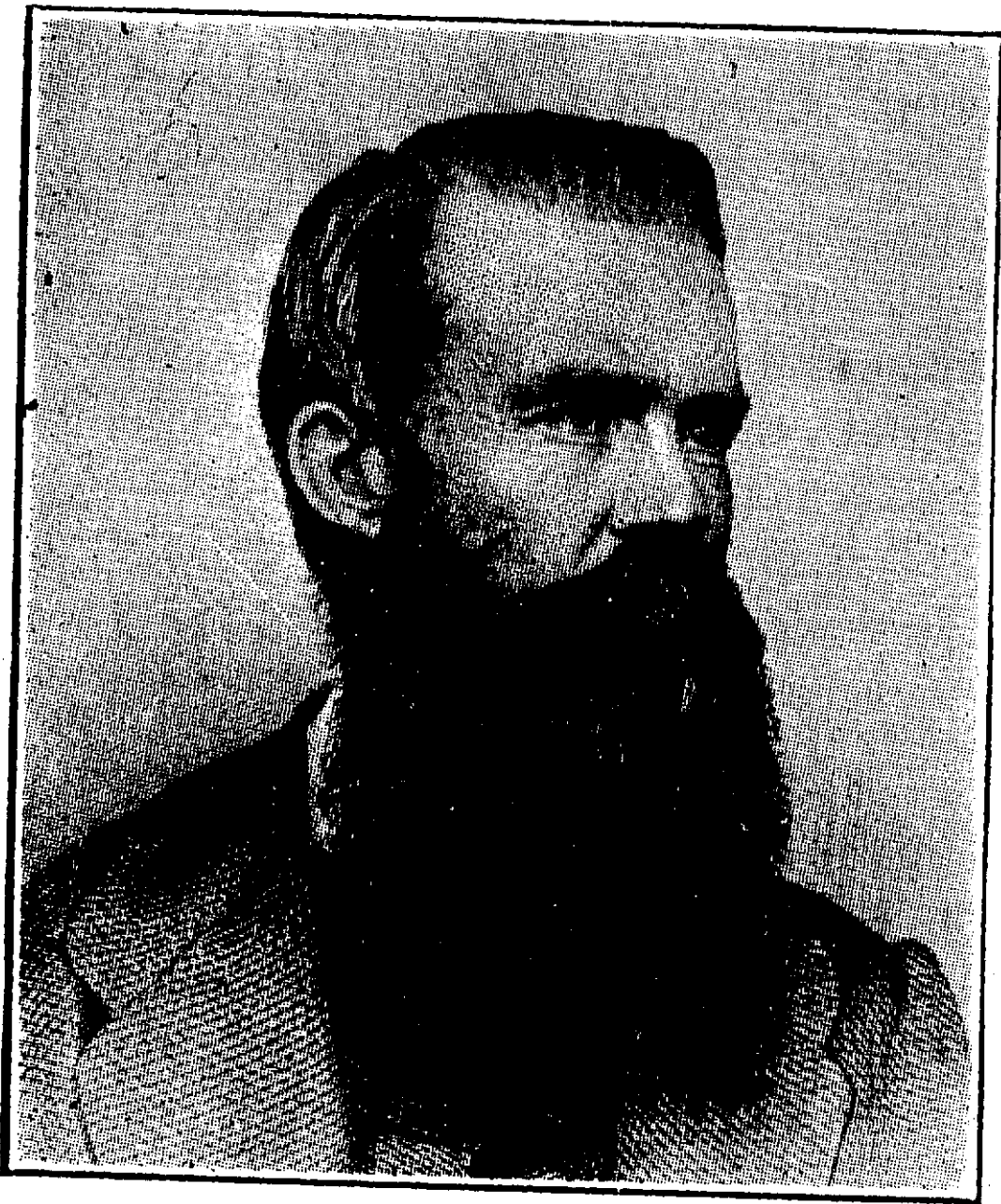
"The Government will sell lands in any of its colonies or in the localities that the Emigrants prefer; and will give them gratuitous transports from Rio de Janeiro to the seaport to which they wish to proceed.

On the choice of the lands and the respective measurements being made, the definite title-deeds to the property shall be delivered to them upon payment of the price of the sale of 1 or 2 Reis each square braca (52.5 feet English).

⁸See Chapter 8, Mrs. Julia L. Keyes' Manuscript Story "*Our Life in Brazil*," loaned to the author by Mrs. L. M. Pickens, her daughter, referred to in Jennie's Diaries as "*Linnie*". Mrs. Pickens resides (1930) at 817 South Court Street, Montgomery, Alabama. Her reminiscences of people and incidents have been very helpful in this study.

The owners of the lands purchased from the States are subject to the following onus. 1st, To cede the lands necessary for roads. 2nd, To give free transit to their neighbors to the public road, town or port of embarkation. 3rd, To allow the taking away of unneeded water. 4th, To subject the discovery of any mines to the legislation governing the case."

The Reverend Dunn's book, an interesting little volume, carries a sketch of several provinces, and sets out Dr. Gaston's report and that of Major Meriwether, the reports of the Texas parties and gives glowing pictures of the possibilities of Brazil.



REV. BALLARD S. DUNN

as cotton, coffee and tobacco."

Under "Manners and Customs" is:

"In Brazil less expense is necessary in houses, clothes, bed-clothes, firing, shelter for cattle, etc. Coffee, sugar and beef are very cheap; food is more easily grown, the preservation of vegetables is not endangered and made difficult by intense frosts, and not only can all that is grown in the United States be raised in Brazil, but the mildness of the winter allows of the cultivation of many valuable tropical plants, and gives great advantages in the cultivation of such commercial staples

Major Meriwether gives interesting statistics; they are:
 "The cost then of clearing forest lands, according to the custom of the country, is from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per acre. Horses, domesticated, can be bought for from \$20 to \$40; unbroken, from \$15 to \$30; mares, from \$5 to \$10; jacks, from \$50 to \$100; pack mules, from \$25 to \$30; riding mules, from \$40 to \$80; unbroken in lots, from \$12 to \$15; fat hogs, weighing two hundred pounds each, from \$5 to \$8; breeders and pigs, in pro-

portion; sheep, from \$1.50 to \$3.00, inferior and scarce; goats, from \$1 to \$2; milk cows, in lots, from \$8 to \$10; single, \$12 to \$15; oxen, fat, from \$12 to \$20; work oxen, from \$30 to \$40; corn, usually from 50 to 75 cts; Beans are worth from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per bushel; rice, from \$2 to \$3; coffee, from 7 to 10 cts per pound; leather, from \$3 to \$5, per side; sugar, from 6 to 8 cts; rum, from 25 to 30 cts per gallon; bananas, limes and lemons from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ ct each; oranges, from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ct each, and pine apples abundant, when in season, from 1 to 2 cts each.

The above are the prices furnished us by citizens in the interior. In the larger towns, most of these products, particularly fruit, are much higher."

Joseph Long Minchin of Florida, furnished through Mrs. Martha Steagall Norris, (Widow of Dr. Robert Norris of Alabama), the following list of Confederate soldiers who went to Brazil:

Joseph Long Minchin, Col. Antony (*Anthony*), N. Baremore (*Barrymore*), Brownlow, Luis (*Lewis*), Dr. Holt, Capt. Hanny (*Rainey* or *Haynie*), Blackburn, Dr. Boid (*Boyd*), Quillen, Forston, McLoyd (*McLeod*), Cooks, Mathais (*Matthews*), Maj. Bolon (*Bolton*), Maj. Tallon (*Totten*), Hansen, Foolwood (*Fulwood*), Hiskman, Wingelles (*Wingalls*), Pinkney, Johnson, Sheppard, Dr. Boyles, Wedson, Meldon (*Melton*), Henry Strong, Freeley (*Freligh*), Dr. Callos, Hellesel, Armstrong, Carr, Todd, Kellos, Summers, Rodgers, Keeth, Peiee, Dr. Warn (*Warren*), Capt. Clinch, Youngblood, Incas Well, Dr. Sheppard, Word, Wardd, Dr. Dobbens (*Dolbens*), Gen. Dolbens, McClellan, Dresbau, Caicievis, Dr. Winson, Braudnax (*Robert Broadnax*).

Mrs. Norris, under date of Feb. 5, 1926, furnished the list which follows, showing American Settlers in Brazil as remembered by her. The (x) opposite the name indicates men of families:

(From Alabama) (Late 60's)

Col. Wm. H. Norris (x), Dr. Robert Norris, John Cole (x), Col. Robt. Broadnax (x), Joe Whitaker (x), William Daniel (x), Capt. Ben Yancey, Dalton Yancey, George Northrop, Henry Sembrich, Davis (x), William Owen (x), Simeon Russell (x), Edward Trigg (x), John Dumas (x), Henry Capps, Henry Strong (x), Henry Brown, Frank Bankston (x), Dr. C. P. Ezelle, Rev. Newman (x), Thomas Smith (x), Joe Moore (x), Richard Bryan (x), Capt. Lee Bryant, Weis-

inger (x), Joseph Daniel (x), William Barr (x), Dr. G. G. Mathews (x), Harris, Mills (x).

(From Alabama, went down about 1890)

Dr. Cicero Jones, Dr. Yancey Jones, Joel Sanders.

(From Florida) (Late 60's)

Milton Pyles (x), Seawright (x), Denby (x), Joseph Minchin (x).

(About 1890) Chambers Williamson (x), Lidelle (x).

(From Mississippi)

Rev. Emerson (x).

(From Louisiana)

Moncrief (x), Budd (x).

(From Tennessee)

Ward (x).

(From South Carolina)

Holland (x), McFadden (x), Maj. (Robert) Meriwether (x), Green Ferguson (x), James Miller (x), Baird (x).

From Texas)

John Dorum (x), H. F. Steagall (x), LaFayette Keese (x), Johnson Peacock, Waddell (x), Frank Turner (x), Dr. John H. Crisp (x), Crawly (x), John Bentley, Garner (x), John Perkins (x), Calvin McKnight (x), Thomas McKnight (x), Jesse Wright (x), Jos. White (x), Col. (Wm. P.) Hardeman (x), Col. Demarett (x), A. J. Smith (x), Quillen (x), Col. (Wm.) Bowen (x), Tarver (x), Whitehead, Loter Hudspeth (x).

(From Georgia)

Hervey Hall (x).

(From Virginia)

Norfleet.

(From Arkansas)

Dr. Coulter.

(Not identified by States)

(Capt.) Brownlow, Green (x), Blocksom (x), Blocksom (x), Keith, (Capt.) Shippey (*Fla.*) Buchanan, Maj. McIntyre (x) (*Ala.*), Johnson (*Ky.*), Col. Oliver (x), Tanner (x), Drane (x), Wiggins (x), Marchant (x), Carr (x), Clark, Grady (x), Col. Whitaker (x), Townsend, Currie, Porter, John Lang (x), Kolb (x), John Rowe (x), Richard Carlton (x), John Kinnerly (x), Rev. Richard Ratcliff (x), James Anderson, William Wise, Dr. Wesson, James Moore, McAl-

pine, Britt, Terrell (x), Cullen (x), John Beuford (*Buford*)
Irving L. Miller (x).

Extracts from Mrs. Norris' letter are: "H. F. Steagall from Texas was my father. We arrived here in May, 1868,⁽⁹⁾ when I was 18 years old. I was afterwards married to Dr. Robert Norris of Alabama, a graduate of Mobile Medical College. I came over on a ship called the "Tartar", an old blockade runner once called the "Wren". She was bought by a man named Carlos Nathan and fashioned into an Emigrant Ship, a slow as well as an unsafe one, too. We were from the 11th of April until the 29th of May on the way, having fine weather all the time, and but for this it was said that we would have surely been lost, as the vessel had too much top hamper to weather a storm. It was loaded to the full with passengers from Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. xxxxxxxxxxxx."

"xxxxx Nearly all of the Alabamians who came here settled around Caupinas, Santa Barbara and what is now Villa Americana. This last was not so named until after the railroad was built to it being only no further than Judiahy for several years after we came here. Many of the Southerners besides the Alabamians settled in the above named localities, and at one time there were 200 families around Santa Barbara alone, thought not now. Some have returned to the United States, others have moved to other places in Brazil and one Protestant Cemetery counts many who have passed on."

Again she says, "Few of the very earliest settlers are left though many of the descendants are yet living in Rio de Janeiro, in Sao Paulo and the larger cities."

While for many years after the return of the families to their former homes, in the Southern States, they refused to make comments, at the present time, the younger generation freely say that even though money was easy to make in Brazil, the conditions they hoped for were not realized. Those people who left the South of the United States were not fitted to be pioneers in any country. It is not reasonable to assume that men accustomed to direct big policies and to handle progressive business firms could immediately fit themselves into those conditions which required the menial labor of clearing up forests, opening up of lands, building of houses and altogether re-establishing themselves. Nor can we assume that women who had adorned the ball-room floors and the parlors of aristocratic homes in North America would be

⁹The Diary of Miss Keyes notes the arrival of a vessel in May, 1868, bringing a number of Southern families. Doubtless this is the boat here referred to by Mrs. Norris.

happy under thatched roofs and in mud-daubed cabins, along the lake front in the forests of South America. Again, cotton might be raised in Southern Sao Paulo, but not successfully in the upper Rio Doce regions. True, 'tis, that many of those who went were typical "soldiers of fortune," but the leaders who seem to have been successful in promoting "Colonies" to go South, were not always successful in keeping these groups together once they had reached there. Land seems to have been cheap enough and had they understood the production of sugar cane, coffee, and those articles of commerce native to that country, they might have been content to stay. History records one outstanding fact, that most of those who stayed, very shortly found themselves unsatisfied with country life, and drifted into the cities. At the present time, the descendants of those original settlers are to be found in the cities and not on the estates.

Another fact brought out in an investigation of this study, is that of all those who left the United States, in most cases, the professional man was the one who was most content. As before claimed, the artisan seems to have been that one most needed. Dissatisfaction with claim assignments of the leaders who promoted the emigration, is ever apparent in present day interviews with those who have knowledge of conditions there. The cleared land was probably most productive and tillable, but had the settlers been able to adapt themselves to conditions and to have subsisted until the allotment could have been utilized to start production, it is very evident that these lands, covered with great mahogany trees, would have been far more productive of a money return, than those open stretches. The improvement of political conditions in the United States which began about 1870, either through an adaptation of the people to these conditions, or a positive determination on the part of the former leaders to right them, in my mind, influenced many to return. Economic conditions improved faster than the ones altogether governed by politics. It was possible for those who were dissatisfied with life in Brazil to return and take up their old work. Longing for the old associations, many sacrificed and made the return.

The undeveloped sections of Florida seem to have profited by Brazil's loss. An examination of the personnel of certain communities in the central Appalachian country of Florida and along the west coast of the peninsula shows many families grouped there, who had become acquainted with one another in the Brazilian venture.

There are few instances of complaint on the part of those who left the United States for Brazil, toward the Government of Brazil, as to misrepresentation of conditions or to failure to carry out the agree-

ments made to induce them to come there. Apparently in 1866 and 67, the emigration parties went down on vessels chartered by the Empire but such was not the case in 1868. At the same time, it must be understood that even though these parties or groups of families went on vessels chartered by the Government, they were expected to pay their passage, but were given time to meet this obligation. In some cases the vessels were not what was expected by the emigrants, but accommodations appear to have been reasonably good. The steam-boat fare, as advertised in New York in 1873 was from that city to Para, \$150.00, and to Rio de Janeiro, \$225.00.⁽¹⁰⁾

Facilitating transportation, and apparently encouraging emigration, a Steam Ship Company was organized in 1865⁽¹¹⁾ and this was in existence almost ten years later.

While the Emigration Agents appear to have sought a subsidized government control line between the Gulf Country and Brazil, there is no indication of their ever having presented the matter in a formal way.⁽¹²⁾ While some, notably the Hastings and Dunn Colonies, shipped from Mobile and New Orleans respectively, the records would indicate that most of the emigrants to Brazil went out from New York City. Certainly all of them returned *via* that route.

Sao Paulo, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro and the Rio Grande countries, seem to have been favored largely by those advance agents sent out early after the War. In a measure, we may surmise that the assumption was that this section was far enough North to grow cotton. The production of this staple does not seem to have materialized. Where emigrants were content to give attention to coffee and the natural products of the country, they appear to have succeeded. The records disclose only one effort in the Amazon country, that of Major Hastings. His Reserve was a tract of unoccupied Government land on the South side of the Amazon River, and South of the River Tapajos, between these rivers and Curua. It was in the Province of Para and comprised

¹⁰*O Novo Mundo*, New York City, December 23, 1873, Vol. 4, No. 39, p. 2.

¹¹The United States and Brazil Mail Steamship Company was established in 1865 and subsidized by the receipt of \$200,000 from each Government for a term of ten years. The consideration was to make twelve round trip voyages from Rio to New York annually and to carry the mail. Steamers of no less than 2000 tons were to be used. They were to touch at St. Thomas, Para, Pernambuco and Bahai. The fare from New York to Rio to be \$200 and to Para \$150.

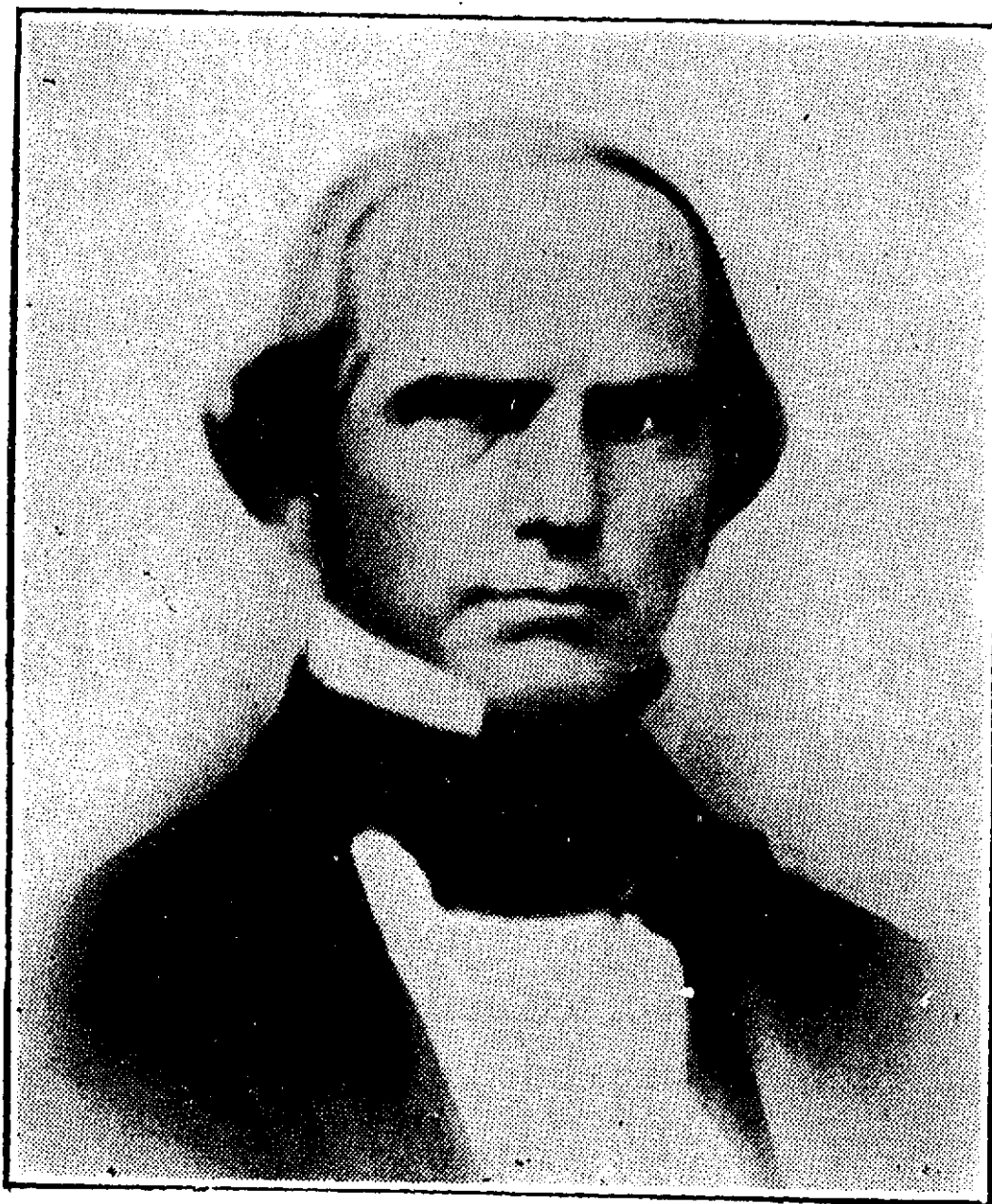
Hastings' *"Guide to Brazil,"* p. 204.

¹²First class passage from Mobile to Para was 200 milreis. The same fare applied from New Orleans, on chartered steamers. From Mobile and New Orleans to Rio de Janeiro was 260 milreis.

Hastings' *"Guide to Brazil"*—Appendix p. 79.

about 96 square miles. According to the terms of agreement with him, he was to make three equal payments, commencing at the end of the third year after the establishment of his colony on these lands.

Illustrating the interest of the Government, by an Act approved December 1, 1866, 26,000 milreis was appropriated for the construction of cottages and a road from Santarim to the site of the Colony. The Act directed the erection of an infirmary and a house for the reception of colonists, this to be provided in Para. A similar situation was in Rio. The "Government House" (—cf Jennie's Diary) at Rio, under Colonel Broome, was this provision.



MAJ. L. W. HASTINGS

All prospective settlers in the South of the Empire, were landed at Rio and trans-shipped from there. Emigrants were allowed to pay their own expenses, that is, transportation, and might choose their locations. Those who received transportation and subsistence of the Government were required to settle where the prearranged agreement set out.

The Brazilian Government seems to have sanctioned, and apparently encouraged, a form of emigration agent who was permitted to charge each con-

templated emigrant a registration fee of \$5.00 per person. Mr. Hastings' American representative was J. R. Edwards, of No. 8 South Commerce Street, Mobile, Alabama.¹³

Charles Gunter, Montgomery, Alabama, a man of means, was one of the earliest to become interested in the movement to leave the South. As stated above, by Major Meriwether, he was in Brazil in the early fall of 1865 and tradition says, had a grant of land even that early.

¹³Joseph R. Edwards was discharging clerk for a line of Low Pressure Steamers plying between Mobile and New Orleans *via* Lake Pontchartrain—*Mobile City Directory*, 1859. In so far as is known, he left no descendants.

Colonel Gunter's Reserve was the largest tract entered by the Americans in the Empire, said to have been 600 square miles. A number of Montgomerians, former citizens of Selma and west Alabama and some from Mobile, intended to settle here with him on the Doce River in the Province of Espírito Santo, 300 miles up from Rio, but conditions not having met their expectations, they soon drifted into the cities and not long thereafter, back to the States.⁽¹⁴⁾

Mr. Hastings was not the first one to interest himself in the Amazon country for he found "Mr. Simpson from Alabama" an engineer, and "Mr. Collyer an American" there on his arrival in 1866. Mr. Simpson went with him, both being guests of the Government, when he made his first inspection. Mr. Collyer, who had some Steam Ship Line affiliations, served as interpreter at this time. Mr. Hastings' own journal indicates that he did not immediately secure the interest in his project which had manifested itself in the regions near Rio. A characteristic statement is made that "on August 15, 1866, the opinion prevailed in Para, that the American emigrants to the Amazon Valley would over-rule that country as they did in California." He commented that there seemed to be some fear that the country might fall into the hands of the United States. This surmise on the part of the Brazilians, may be probably justifiable when it is realized that the Americans had entered Texas and possessed themselves of that country, likewise, Arizona and California had been appropriated. When it is realized that Major Hastings' vigorous energy had been instrumental in the development of that condition on the Pacific Coast, those Brazilian students of politics may have had ground to fear a like result from his efforts at colonization on the Amazon. However, Emigrant Aid Associations soon began to be formed and Dr. Gama Abrue, President of the one at Para, is prominently identified with the stay of these former Americans in the Southern country.

Although it cannot be definitely stated, there is no reason to believe that the "Reverend Dunn's Colony," subsequently referred to, (*cf* Jennie's *Diary*) included the Texans. Frank Mullen and William Bowen were in Rio in May, 1866, having begun the inspection of suitable sites for settlement as early as January 9, previous. Colonel Demaret was also there quite early and Mrs. Norris lists the latter, as well as Colonel Bowen. These men must doubtless have been the influences which carried the settlers from that State to this country.

¹⁴See Dr. Keyes' letters which bring out the names of parties from central Alabama one time associated with Mr. Gunter.

Jacob Humbird of Maryland, the "brain and energy" to whom Brazil was indebted for the completion of a large portion of Don Pedro Railroad, doubtless did not "emigrate" to Brazil.

Dr. H. A. Shaw, a resident of Aiken County, South Carolina, published in December, 1866, the first account of emigrants from that state. The reader should recall that Dr. Shaw was one of the men sent down by the Southern Colonization Society.⁽¹⁵⁾

Dr. Shaw's contribution to the *Advertiser*, quoting the agents' language, says: "The Brazilian Emigration Scheme is finally under way." These agents submitted a circular signed by the United States and Brazil Steam Ship Company's representative, Quintino Bocayuva, in



MRS. ROBERT NORRIS
Rio, Brazil

which he sets out the advantages guaranteed to emigrants, beginning with the statement, "free passage to Emigrants to Brazil by the United States and Brazil Mail Steam Ship Company on the 22nd of each month. The steamer, "South America," which left on the 22nd for Rio, took out 213 emigrants, presumably from South Carolina.

While records establish the fact that many Americans had returned home prior to the appointment of Henry Clay Armstrong as the United States Consul General in Brazil, an interesting reflection of this old emigration is brought out in a newspaper reference of June 3, 1886, in which he says, "I found them (the Southerners) situated four hundred miles from Rio Janeiro in the back country. They have a tract about fifteen hundred miles square. Col. W. H. Norris, who was quite a prominent man in Alabama, and who was at one time, a member of the General Assembly, is one of the leading men of the Colony. I also met Dr. C. C. Crisp, a very accomplished man from Tennessee — They seemed quite well contented and said they would probably remain — They are engaged also in the

¹⁵See *Edgefield Advertiser*, December 14, 1866, letter of Garrison and Allen, Agents, dated November 30, 1866.

production of *cotton* and this finds a ready market as the mills that have been started in the Empire prefer it to any other.”¹⁶

Mrs. McCord, who died in Selma in June, 1930, in her 96th year, widow of Dr. Russell McCord, a physician, was an early settler. The Doctor, his wife and three children resided North of Rio, some distance in the country. He was employed by a wealthy plantation owner, a widow, and a close relative of the Emperor. For most of their stay of 18 years, they lived in the family of the Countess and it cannot be said that their experiences were alike those of the other families who went down. Dr. McCord was Medical Officer for a large plantation, had a lucrative practice and good income. They returned to America only when his health failed.

A diligent effort has been made to determine the interest of men from the whole Southern States in this project, and even though the statement was published that nineteen Emigration Societies had placed their affairs in the hands of General Wood of Mississippi, the writer has found most interest centered in South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. In so far as records are to be had, no great amount of interest appears on the part of Virginians and North Carolinians. As Tennesseans showed but minor concern, this question may yet have a deep bearing on the political issues of the Reconstruction Period. The slave holding states and men favorable to the holding of slaves, may, on a more thorough investigation of the subject, be found to have been the dominating influences in this theory.

While no claim is made by the writer to have by any means made a final study of the subject, such suggestions as have been prompted by the personnel of those living in the Empire, have been followed in the effort to arrive at a thorough history of the movement. The subject is not treated from a political standpoint, and no effort other than to set out the conditions of that day, has been made.

In conclusion, while the evidences show, beyond peradventure, that many who went to Brazil were men of families, considering the very general agitation of this subject in the South in 1866, it is the belief of the writer that no large number of families stayed in Brazil. Individuals, rather than family groups remained. In many cases, the individual was honest in thinking that he intended to permanently settle in the Empire. I am not convinced that the majority of Americans in

¹⁶Colonel Norris was the father-in-law of Mrs. Robert C. Norris, quoted herewith. He was born about 1793 and died in Dallas County, Alabama, after he returned from Brazil. It is thought that he went out with the Gunter party.

Brazil today owe the influence to the organized effort on the part of these emigration advocates. I will go further and say that the professional man, for the most part, of all of those who went during the thirty years succeeding the War between the States, was the only one to have become permanently established. He alone, found his opportunity in the building of railroads and industrial plants in this new country and in the practice of medicine and the law. This virgin field enabled him to realize that ambition which, during the last quarter of a century at least, has prompted thousands of Americans to leave their native homes with the hope of making their fortunes, and eventually returning to spend the evening of life in that environment so necessary in the thoughts of us in this western world.

There are very few records to indicate that the families who carried down to Brazil younger children ever educated them there. There are many evidences to show that even though they stayed there as long as ten years, there were continuous trips "back to the States" in order that these children might have those educational advantages not possible fifty years ago in Brazil. Then, too, the language and customs of that Portuguese country was not conducive to make happy other than those born there.

(NOTE: After this paper went to press the writer's attention was called to Lawrence F. Hill's *Confederate Exiles to Brazil* in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 2, May, 1927. Mr. Hill had access to certain references not seen by me. His paper throws light on a phase of the Emigration not available for my use,—particularly the New Orleans and Mississippi Reports. Neither was Marcossou's *Saturday Evening Post* story consulted by me. P. A. B.)

MRS. JULIA KEYES' DIARY

No picture of the life of the Americans in Brazil, can be more vividly painted than to quote, just as they are set out, the volumes which are affectionately referred to by the members of the families, as "Jennie's Diaries."¹ The first volume includes a statement of several pages made by Mrs. Julia Louisa Keyes, wife of Dr. John Washington

¹Jennie Rutledge Keyes, the second child of Dr. Keyes, married James A. Davidson, Jr., in Montgomery February 8, 1875. She died in 1879. She was the grandchild of the celebrated novelist, Caroline Lee Hentz. Her Diary is frank and expressive, and at the same time, bubbling with that romantic spirit which the environment of that cultured grandmother would suggest. Mr. Davidson resides, (1930), with his daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald Salter, in the city of Montgomery.

Keyes,⁽²⁾ a dentist, who married the daughter of Professor Nicholas M. and Caroline Lee Hentz.

Certain fly-leaf notations in these volumes, made by Jennie, give pertinent information, and they, too, are used here. A statement of much value, is one prepared on board the *Barque Wavelet* on their return home in 1870. It concludes the story.

Dr. Keyes' letters, which follow the Diaries, give that very optimistic account which was but natural.

MRS. KEYES' STORY

Steamship "Marmion"

April 27th

1867

Saturday morn

On our way to Brazil!!

The long anticipated voyage began—Twelve days since we sailed & I have not yet begun a Diary—Not because I have been disappointed—neither has it been from sea-sickness. This great terror of the passengers, I have been spared almost entirely, but responsibilities & varied cares, which of a necessity follow me, have prevented my setting down a thought. So *many* I have had that were pleasant & grateful I shall ever bear in my heart the memory of them. Ever feel thankful that we were cast with such delightful company—Gentlemen whose manners are so engaging that any circle might be improved by their presence. Not from politeness & delicate attention to ladies alone, as these *can* be assumed on occasion, but we believe that these *are* the signs of the true *gentleman* which cannot be mistaken. Some whose faces we can trust and whose kind forbearance and gentle consideration of *little children* will, at once, win our confidence. Next to those whom our Savior has "suffered to come unto Him" should be those who can dive down into their hearts, inquiring what they need & what they can administer to their comforts—and for those who care not for these

²Dr. John Washington Keyes was born at Athens, Limestone County, Alabama, November 24, 1825, and died in Wewahitchka, Florida, November 27, 1892. He studied medicine and graduated from the Cincinnati Dental College and practiced dentistry in Montgomery. He entered the Confederate Army as a member of a Cavalry Company under Captain, later General, James H. Clanton. He was subsequently a 2nd Lieutenant of Company E, 1st Battalion, Hilliard's Legion and later became a 2nd Lieutenant of Company F of the 60th Alabama Infantry Regiment. He was subsequently Surgeon of the 17th Alabama Infantry Regiment. In 1867 the family moved to Brazil. After their return to Alabama, in 1870, he removed to Florida.

helpless ones, remembering not the days of *their innocence*, let us draw a sigh of intense pity. No domestic happiness will be theirs. They are ignorant of the kindest affections of the human heart & "*home*" has never any charm for them.

Will we ever forget the parting from our *Home* & from those we love? I think not. It is pleasant to believe that kind hearts, beating so *far* away, are with us on our voyage, praying to our common Father for our safety and prosperity. It is pleasant also to look forward to the day when we can open a door of hospitable welcome to some that will follow us. If our journey continues as pleasant as it has begun, how much we will have to be thankful for—How earnest we should be to return thanks by our daily actions—and prepare ourselves for another home, not made with hands.

On the morning of the 16th (April) we left N. Orleans—a clear sky above & hopeful hearts around us still we cannot say we were not met by disappointments in regard to our "quarters" between decks. We knew nothing of the accommodation of an emigrant ship and consequently did not see as we do *now* that we are far better off in many respects than we might have expected—The rough fare if we keep our health, will never be remembered with thoughts of regret. We will only think of all that has been so very delightful. We passed out of the Gulf on a lovely moonlight night. The waters as smooth as a lake—crossed the bar safely between two vessels that were stuck, lying in wait for the rising of the tide—"so much so good" we thought. On rounding Florida point we had some clouds, rough water, in consequence of a little blow, and some sea-sickness amongst the passengers. We watched the light-house with some interest, also the faint outline of a home of "Wreckers" who were doubtless watching the red lights on our masts with equal concern. On the 18th we passed the Tortugas. The night previous to the blow—on the 20th passed Great Isaac's, saw a few rocks and a striped light-house, about breakfast hour—Sunday got into the Atlantic—the *rolling* waves brought more sea-sickness amongst the passengers. In our family we had more cases with the smaller children, Julia, Charlie and Reb—I suffered some with my head. Our Captain had services on deck. Our two ministers being sick, he distributed a number of new Episcopal prayer books and it was with great satisfaction we saw the passengers, all that were able, go out to participate. I think we have a good Captain. Prim, considerate—& seems to know well his duties and his course. Most of our time we spent on deck and we found our Captain very agreeable in conversation. With a rough manner and stern treatment to his crew, he was respected.

For several days the water remained rough—On Wed. we were annoyed by the appearance on board of a case of varioloid, very slight, but a cause of uneasiness, particularly to the Mothers of young families—Passed Porto Rico by night—Those that were up said that the streets, lighted by gas, could be readily distinguished and the scene very beautiful.

Thursday the 25th passed St. Thomas & although the scenery was not particularly striking, we were disappointed in not being able to stop and obtain supplies to make our living more luxurious. The Captain thought best to prevent this great wish of ours on account of cholera, yellow fever, mosquitoes & flies which were said to prevail to some extent. We saw the city lying quietly among the hills. The tiled roofing was something new and interesting, seen through Col. Censor's elegant opera glasses. I like his glasses and like him. If not mistaken, *he* is one of the *true*—so are *several* others whose names will not be forgotten, for we will never forget their kind attentions. Mr. Carson, from Galveston, Drs. Dunn & Tobin—Capts. Ben & Daltan Yancey,—the last mentioned coming from Mont (Montgomery)—our own home—Mr. Slaughter & others—Then last, but by no means least, I must speak of our faithful friend, Mr. Coachman, & Carson Wade. What could we have done without them? So attentive have they been to use since we commenced our journey. In fact, I have had so much that is pleasant, thus far, on this long dreaded voyage, I feel that it is sinful to complain of any small annoyances we may have. May I be forgiven if I rebel, in thought, against any privations. We have made the acquaintance of one or two pleasant agreeable families—Mr. Davis, wife & daughter, Mr. Miller, wife & daughter—His eldest Miss Anna, an agreeable companion for Ellen & their youngest & our smaller ones have a merry & sociable time. Indeed, the young people have all been making a frolic of the trip.—May they have nothing to mar it.

On Friday—26th—we passed Plymouth in the morning—I had been kept awake by the baby who coughed all night, & I was not on deck to see the beautiful picture as described by those who witnessed it, but in the afternoon, I had the rare pleasure of beholding mountain scenery in the perfection of beauty on the Island of Guadaloupe. A cloud rested on the summit of the highest peak, as thousands have—the City lay quietly beneath these hills—The eye was pleased at once by the soft shade of green in the background. The blue bright sky & the sea, scarcely ruffled, over which we were gently but swiftly borne. We saw by the aid of the “true glasses”—always at our service—the walls of the City—the streets and long rows of palmetto trees—some

very large imposing looking dwellings to the left—on the right a neat looking cemetery. Lying outside were several vessels—one of them a large steamship, with a French flag. A French looking sloop in full sail, with three little jibs, one above the other,—quite unique. After leaving this city “Basse-terra,” which I forgot to mention is lying below a volcanic mountain, we saw, rising beyond, a wide strait—another chain of mountains—said to be a continuation of the Island of Guadeloup. A fortification, quite extensive, appeared on its highest and broadest summit. When & how made we could not learn.

We saw no more land until we reached the S. American coast, except the Barbadoes which we passed in the night. We feel disappointed that we missed the scenery which is said to be beautiful.

Sunday—28th—Water rough again—

Reverend Ballard Dunn held service on deck. One or two small fights occurred amongst the men. One dutchman who leads a blind man much like him,—probably his brother—had some rough handling, his eye blackened, an uncouth, unpolished set of individuals—If it were not for being obliged to be near some such people as these all the time, we would be more comfortable. So entirely different are they from beings we are accustomed to mingle with, but we have only those to look at and enough of a better class to associate with. Dear me! if we had not been thrown with some pleasant and agreeable people, what a sad & lonely time we might have had.

Beautiful weather continued—lasted all the way. Our Captain said he had never made a more beautiful passage—that he had crossed the ocean thirty times.

Oct. 14th—Lake Japarana

It is now nearly five months since we came to Brazil—Our voyage was happily ended by reaching the magnificent City of Rio Janeiro on a beautiful moonlight night—the 16th of May—without accident of any kind—Perhaps I will never feel again such an overpowering sense of gratitude & pleasure as when beholding those far famed mountains & city lights. It was quite enough to repay me for a month's discomfort on board ship *Then—our reception at the Government House—“Casa de Suade” was so gratifying. We were a happy band of Emigrants,—felt we had reached a place of rest and among kind, generous people who had given us a welcome we had not expected. We were sheltered & fed at Government expense and fared much better than on our steam ship, the food not really better but prepared in a manner to make it more

palatable. The proprietor, Col. Broome,³ was a Confederate soldier, as kind and obliging as we could wish—and the house was a little less than a palace, with marble floors—most of the rooms having frescoed and gilded ceilings & beautifully papered walls. Flower yards, tastily arranged with marble benches beneath vine covered arbors. Just within the great iron-gate is a long row of those stately Palms—never before seen except in our imaginary pictures of oriental scenes. We bought fruit in abundance, at a small expence and all little delicacies which we needed and considered ourselves blessed in many ways.

Two days after our arrival, the Steamship N. America came in from N. York with a large number of Emigrants and our hotel then entertained nearly three hundred. Very soon they begun to circulate. In the meantime we received visits from Brazilians and Americans, too, by throngs. It was quite bewildering, but gratifying to know that we were the cause of so much interest. The Emperor came in person to pay us a visit and we heard that he expressed himself as being much pleased with the appearance of the Americans. Many gathered in throngs discussing the respective merits of their separate colonies. Many acted rashly as they afterwards found, coming to a conclusion. If all had gone together to one colony they probably would be there now with a flourishing town of their own making, but they did not. They scattered * * *

Mr. Charles Nathans⁴, Mr. Andrew Steel & Sons were very obliging to us. Assisted us in many ways and we will never forget them. We left Rio very hurriedly on Monday morning 26th May—on the steamship Japarana—together with several families on the way to Rio Doce where Americans are gathering. We all became sea-sick and the pleasure of this portion of our journey was considerably marred. We stayed a night at Victoria,—stopped early in the afternoon and walked about the streets of the very queer & ancient looking town. The natives stared at us and no wonder they did, for we were a badly behaved set of people.

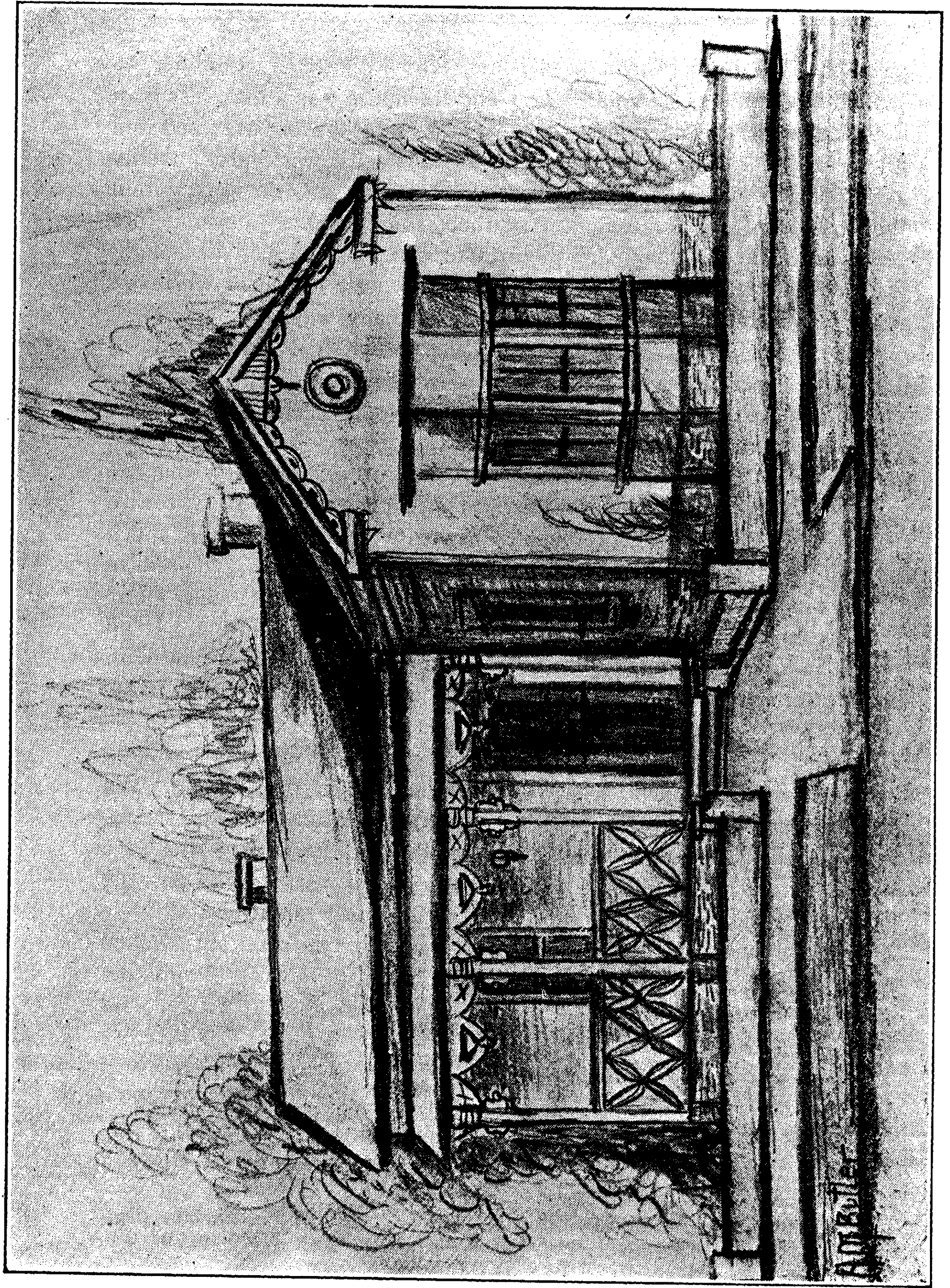
We looked in the stores & at the people as if we had never seen anything before.

(The Diary of Jennie Keyes will appear in the next issue.)

A complete Bibliography will follow the conclusion of the study.

³Probably James A. Broome, Lieutenant Colonel 14th Alabama Infantry Regiment. Native of LaGrange, Georgia. Lost his left leg at the Battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864. Record says "Very gallant."

⁴Charles Nathan, sometimes Carlos Nathan, an English merchant, who left Brazil after the Keyes family returned and afterwards visited them in Montgomery.



Home of Gen. John W. A. Sanford, 535 S. Hull St., Montgomery, Ala., in which the present Alabama flag was made. Pencil sketch by Maud Augusta Martin Butler.

HISTORIC HOMES

No. 2

By AUGUSTA MARTIN BUTLER

(Mrs. Eugene Butler)

(This, the second of a series of historic homes in Alabama, is accompanied by a free hand drawing of the house in which the present flag of Alabama was designed and in which lived the author of the bill adopting the present flag of the State. Mrs. Maud Augusta Martin Butler, wife of Eugene Butler, Adjutant General of Alabama National Guard, who has by painstaking research brought together the interesting facts contained in this article, has also contributed the pencil sketch of the quaint and historic old house described as Alabama's Flag House.—EDITOR.)

The cottage in which the first model of the present flag of Alabama was made, stands at the northeast corner of Hull and Grove Streets, 535 Hull Street, Montgomery, Ala. The land upon which this cottage is built, was first owned by Judge John Goldthwaite, according to the earliest plat of the City.

On April 29th, 1850, Judge Goldthwaite sold the land, with several of the surrounding acres, to Oliver and Harriet Wetmore of New York City. Mr. Wetmore held it until 1853 and then divided the section into lots and sold them, most probably, at public auction, as this was the customary way of selling large sections of land at that time. In each issue of the newspaper of Montgomery published at this time, and on file now at the office of "The Montgomery Advertiser", we find advertisements of men who lived solely by auctioneering.

The lot on which the house now stands was sold for \$300.00, to John M. Nowell and Elizabeth, his wife. Nowell evidently built the house between 1853 and 1856, because after holding this lot for less than three years he sold it and the *improvements thereon*, for \$1100.00, showing the greatest increase in sale price of any period during the sale of the land.

On the 17th day of July, 1855, Joseph A. Gaboury, the President of the Street Railway Company of Montgomery, bought the property and lived there for thirty-three years. Mr. Gaboury was distinguished as having, as a Civil Engineer, constructed the first practical and successful electric street railway system in the United States, that of Montgomery.

The first trolley car of the system was tested on Court Street. Among the first passengers were Charles Van Depole, a Belgian chemist and inventor, Warren S. Reese, Mayor of Montgomery; J. A. Gaboury, President of the Street Car Company, and Colonel W. W. Screws, Editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

There are many amusing incidents of this first street car that

have been related, and as amusing as they are they are really true. It is said that as each man took his seat in the car, immediately his watch stopped. This was caused by the dynamo which was in the front of the car and uncovered. No harm was done the watch, however, for after leaving the car, it began ticking once again. The dynamo was a magnet for keys. A man's key ring, or any single key being brought into the car would immediately be drawn in its direction.

At this time bustles were the height of fashion and as the dames and belles of the day stepped into the entrance of the car (which was at the rear) they quietly slipped into the seat nearest the door as the dynamo held the same fatal attraction for the steel in the bustles as it held for the gentleman's keys.

On February 13th, 1888, Joseph Gaboury, and his wife Alice O'Dwyer, (who was a native of Montgomery, Mr. Gaboury himself being a Canadian) sold their home to Colonel John W. A. Sanford, Jr., for \$2,650.00.

Colonel Sanford had been Colonel of the 60th Alabama Infantry Regiment, Confederate States Army, Attorney General of Alabama and at a later day Clerk of the Supreme Court of Alabama. He was the father of John W. A. Sanford, III, the designer of the present flag of Alabama. The flag was made in this house in the front room to the left after entering the front door. John W. A. Sanford, III, designer of the present flag of Alabama, was a lawyer by profession, and a member of the Alabama Legislature of 1895. He married Miss Minnie Smoot, of Mobile, and both have since died. They left descendants who reside in Alabama.

The cottage is unpretentious, consisting of parlour, dining room, kitchen and bed rooms, with a narrow hall leading from the front door directly through the entire house. The timbers of the house show its age. The underpinning timbers are mortised, that is, cut to fit one into the other and pinned together with wooden pegs.

During the life of Colonel Sanford the house was struck by lightning, causing a small fire, but with the aid of the Volunteer Fire Department the flames were soon extinguished. Just before his death General Sanford made a deed of the property to his wife, Sallie Taylor Sanford, which reads: "For and in consideration of the great love and affection I bear to my wife, Sallie Taylor Sanford, and for \$1.00 to me in hand paid—I hereby grant, sell and convey to Sallie Taylor Sanford, her heirs and assigns forever, the following real estate Lot No. 13 in Square No. 6 in City of Montgomery, State of Alabama, and etc."

Sallie Taylor Sanford was a noted belle and beauty of Montgomery, one of the two lovely daughters of William Henry Taylor, a courtly South Carolina gentleman who came to Montgomery about 1830. Before leaving South Carolina William Henry Taylor gave a part of his plantation to the City of Columbia. He also gave the plot for the Theological School in Columbia which institution has recently been moved to Atlanta, Georgia.

The household furnishings of the Sanford home were interesting and lovely. The greater part of them came from Colonel Sanford's paternal home in Milledgeville, Ga., a home noted for its great beauty and its hospitality. However, there were many lovely pieces of silver from the Taylor family and one life size portrait of Mrs. William Henry Taylor, painted by a famous artist of that day.

After Mrs. Sanford's death her granddaughter, Mrs. Burlin R. Starnes, nee Camilla S. (Valine) Sanford, inherited the property and later sold it to Mr. John Bradford, now of Montgomery, but formerly of Springfield, Illinois. It is interesting to know that Mr. Bradford is the only man in Montgomery, and possibly the only man in Alabama, who intimately knew Abraham Lincoln.

I am quoting my interview with him as nearly as possible in his own words: "My father and Abraham Lincoln went to Springfield together in 1841; at that time it was a small town. We were living near neighbors to the Lincolns, at the outbreak of the War, and the two families were as intimate as next door neighbors in a small town usually are.

"Both families attended the same Episcopal Church, although Mrs. Lincoln after the President's death attended the Presbyterian Church. In my childhood I most probably saw Lincoln hundreds of times but have no vivid recollection of him alive. It was during my tenth year that he was assassinated and his corpse was brought to Springfield. I saw him as a corpse in Springfield, 3rd May 1865. His body lay in state in the old State Capitol, the present Court House of Springfield. The State Capitol of Alabama reminds me of this building. It was a large white, double front building with entrances on either side.

"While the body was lying in state two lines of soldiers guarded the entrance. The crowd marched between the soldiers in single file and when I took my place it was necessary for me to walk six blocks to get in line. In the building a guard of officers were standing on either side of the body with drawn swords, as the line of friends and admirers silently passed for their last view of the President.

"I remember that my mother and father attended the wedding of Lincoln and also that my mother was possibly the only person other than the immediate family who saw Mrs. Lincoln at the time of her death.

"Mrs. Lincoln, who was a Southern woman and had brothers in the Confederate Army, was very fond of the Southland. She never became reconciled to Northern customs, particularly in regard to the servants. She did not understand how to manage white help. To keep servants, often Mr. Lincoln without her knowledge, was compelled to give large tips and bribes.

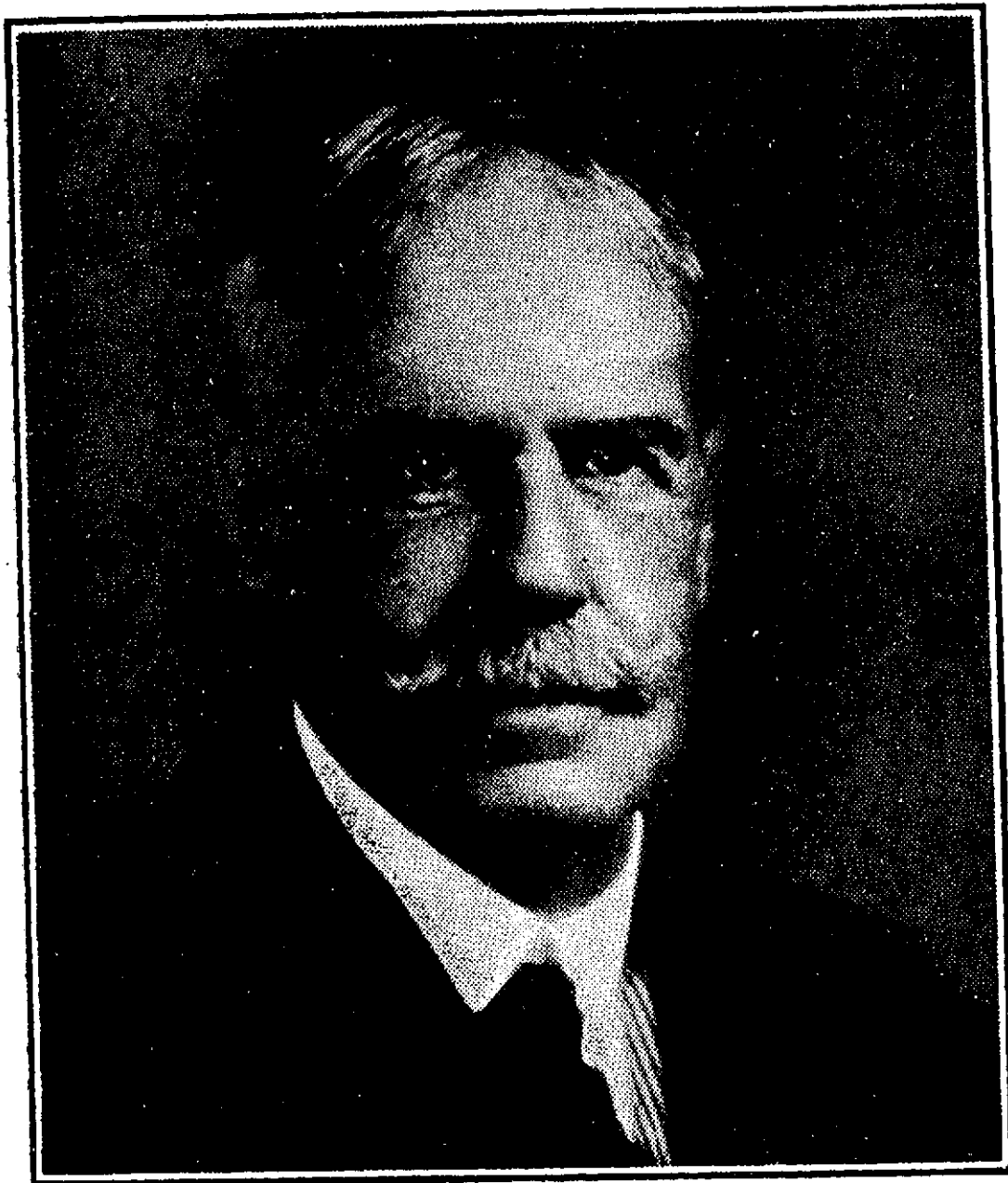
"After Tad Lincoln became a man he was very successful, at one time he was a Cabinet Member. Again he was President of 'The Pullman Company'. From the time he was elected President of the Company until my mother died in her ninetieth year, he presented my mother with passes for all of her travels in memory of the friendship that existed between her and Mrs. Lincoln."

Mr. Bradford has had several letters from Tad Lincoln, one of them he gave to the Alabama Historical Society, another to the California Historical Society and the others to members of his family and friends.

On November 19th, 1924, Mr. Bradford sold his home to Mrs. Fanny Cosby Evans, the present owner and occupant of the little house in which the flag of Alabama was made, the little house in which so many people of historic interest have lived.

ALABAMA'S POET LAUREATE

When the Alabama Writers' Conclave held its 1930 convention in Montevallo the fact was brought before the Executive Committee that Alabama was without an official Poet Laureate. The name of Dr. Samuel Minturn Peck was proposed for that office and his selection unanimously confirmed by the Conclave.



DR. SAMUEL MINTURN PECK

In order that the honor should have the official stamp of the State, Governor Bibb Graves was consulted and approved the selection of the Conclave by promulgating an Executive order confirming its action.

Without advising him of the honor that awaited him, Dr. Peck was invited to be present at the evening session, Tuesday, June 10th. No setting could have been more appropriate for the bestowal of such an honor. The meeting was held in the magnificent new auditorium of Alabama College. The spacious stage was decorated with palms and sum-

mer flowers. A concert of chamber music was presented under the direction of Georges Ryken of The Hague and Paris, but now residing in Alabama. At the conclusion of the string symphony quartet program the President of the Conclave, Mrs. Mildred Reynolds Saffold, introduced Dr. Peck, who was requested to give a reading from his poems. He chose the two popular selections, "My Grandmother's Turkey-Tail Fan," and "The Grapevine Swing." When about to take his seat in the midst of hearty applause, Mrs. Saffold detained the reader and notified him of his selection as Poet Laureate of Alabama. She presented him on behalf of the Conclave with a small gold book bearing the inscription of the poet's name, his new office and the date of its bestowal.

A number of States have, through their Legislatures, created the honorary office of Poet Laureate, and it is very likely that a bill to that effect will be introduced in the Alabama Legislature at its next meeting. In the meantime Dr. Peck is gracefully wearing the new honors bestowed upon him by the writers of Alabama and the Governor of the State.

SAMUEL MINTURN PECK¹

Samuel Minturn Peck was born in Tuscaloosa, November 4, 1854, and resides in that city at the present time. His parents were Judge Elisha Wolsey and Lucy Lamb (Randall) Peck, the former a native of New York State who removed to Alabama in 1825 where he practiced law and was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1868.

Samuel Minturn Peck received his preparatory education in the common schools of Tuscaloosa and at Sycamore and Rockford, Ill. In 1871 he entered the University of Alabama from which he was graduated in 1876 with the degree of Master of Arts. He took a post graduate course in criticism and literature at Columbia University and at Alliance, Paris, France.

Although he had no taste for engaging in the healing art, complying with the wishes of his parents he studied medicine and was graduated from Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York, in 1879, but did not practice the profession. He is an independent in politics and a member of the Episcopal Church.

Dr. Peck's first literary production was a lyric poem entitled "The Orange Tree", published in the *New York Evening Post* in 1878. Other lyrics published in after years are: "Knot of Blue"; "The Dimple on Her Cheek"; "Cupid at Court"; "My Little Girl"; "The Grapevine Swing"; "My Grandmother's Turkey-Tail Fan", all of which have been set to music. A poem of 15 lines, "Among My Books," was published in an *edition de luxe* with 27 full page illustrations.

Dr. Peck's poems have been brought together in several volumes among them "Cap and Bells", published in 1886; "Rings and Love Knots", 1892; "Rhymes and Roses", 1895; "Fair Women of Today", 1895; "The Golf Girl", 1899; "Alabama Sketches", 1902; and "May Bloom and Myrtle", 1910.

Although Dr. Peck's pen is not as prolific as in earlier years he occasionally writes a short poem which is eagerly sought by current

¹See Owen's Hist. of Ala. & Dict. of Ala. Biog. v, 4, p. 1335.

publications. His poem "Communion" which was written during the World War period has been copied many times and has recently been brought out by a Milwaukee publishing house on a gift card. This consolatory poem has comforted many bereaved persons and has brought to its author numerous letters of appreciation.

Dr. Peck has never married.

M. B. O.

COMMUNION

By SAMUEL MINTURN PECK

I send my love unto my dead each day;
I know not how; I only know it goes
Forth from my heart, and, going, ever grows;
That as it flies, there's nothing can affray;
That, like a dove, it fondly keeps its way
Through dark and light along the path it knows;
That in its faithful flight it never slows,
And if I toil or sleep goes not astray,
I send my love unto my dead, and they—
They know 'tis sent, that I have not forgot;
For often when I am alone I feel
Their love return—and, oh, no words can say
The peace that comes to me! It matters not
What woe betide, I have wherewith to heal.

MY GRANDMOTHER'S TURKEY-TAIL FAN

By SAMUEL MINTURN PECK

It owned not a color that vanity dons
Or slender wits choose for display;
Its beautiful tint was a delicate bronze,
A brown softly blended with gray.
From her waist to her chin, spreading out without break,
'Twas built on a generous plan:
The pride of the forest was slaughtered to make
My grandmother's turkey-tail fan.

For common occasions it never was meant:
In a chest between two silken cloths
'Twas kept safely hidden with careful intent
In camphor to keep out the moths.
'Twas famed far and wide through the whole countryside,
From Beersheba e'en unto Dan;
And often at meeting with envy 'twas eyed,
My grandmother's turkey-tail fan.

Camp-meetings, indeed, were its chiefest delight,
Like a crook unto sheep gone astray
It beckoned backsliders to re-seek the right,
And exhorted the sinners to pray.
It always beat time when the choir went wrong,
In psalmody leading the van.
Old Hundred, I know, was its favorite song—
My grandmother's turkey-tail fan.

A fig for the fans that are made nowadays,
Suited only to frivolous mirth!
A different thing was the fan that I praise,
Yet it scorned not the good things of earth.
At bees and at quiltings 'twas aye to be seen,
The best of the gossip began
When in at the doorway had entered serene
My grandmother's turkey-tail fan.

Tradition relates of it wonderful tales.
Its handle of leather was buff.
Though shorn of its glory, e'en now it exhales
An odor of hymn-books and snuff.
Its primeval grace, if you like, you can trace:
'Twas limned for the future to scan,
Just under a smiling gold spectacled face,
My grandmother's turkey-tail fan.

THE GRAPEVINE SWING

By SAMUEL MINTURN PECK

When I was a boy on the old plantation,
Down by the deep bayou,
The fairest spot of all creation,
Under the arching blue;
When the wind came over the cotton and corn,
To the long slim loop I'd spring
With brown feet bare, and a hat-brim torn,
And swing in the grapevine swing.

Swinging in the grapevine swing,
Laughing where the wild birds sing,
I dream and sigh
For the days gone by
Swinging in the grapevine swing.

Out—o'er the water-lilies bonnie and bright,
Back—to the moss-grown trees;
I shouted and laughed with a heart as light
As a wild-rose tossed by the breeze.
The mocking-bird joined in my reckless glee,
I longed for no angel's wing,
I was just as near heaven as I wanted to be
Swinging in the grapevine swing.

Swinging in the grapevine swing,
Laughing where the wild birds sing—
Oh, to be a boy
With a heart full of joy,
Swinging in the grapevine swing!

I'm weary at noon, I'm weary at night,
I'm fretted and sore of heart,
And care is sowing my locks with white
As I wend through the fevered mart.
I'm tired of the world with its pride and pomp,
And fame seems a worthless thing.
I'd barter it all for one day's romp,
And a swing in the grapevine swing.

Swinging in the grapevine swing,
Laughing where the wild birds sing,
I would I were away
From the world today,
Swinging in the grapevine swing.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PLANTATION

By JOHN WITHERSPOON DUBOSE

(This final installment of "Recollections of the Plantation", by John Witherspoon DuBose, carries forward the author's description of the removal of his family from Society Hill, Darlington, S. C., to Marengo County, Ala. The article was written by Col. DuBose from notes in his diary beginning January 5, 1850.—EDITOR.)

It is a wonderfully beautiful & happy land. It is safe to say that the influence of this region of country & the adjacent territory, allied in every social condition & industrial character, decided the political conduct of the State in the present crisis. Mr. Yancey has long lived at Montgomery & often comes to the Canebrake to speak. He said, late in his career: "The best & most sympathetic audience I ever addressed was at Uniontown in the Buchanan campaign"—about 3000 masters & mistresses, & black coachmen & servants hanging on the borders of the meeting in the Chambers grove. Mr. Brooks, President of the Secession Convention, lived at Marion; Governor Moore, the war Governor lived at Marion. Moore, Yancey & Brooks were South Carolinians.

After it is all over, this imminent war, the great drama of politics & politicians, some of us will look back upon the things that we propose to make safer in our possession by fighting to drive off the invader & I wonder what we shall see!

I have fallen upon a letter from Frederick Ravesies, a French West Indian. He came out from Philadelphia, a young man, Land Agent for the exiled Bonapartists. He tells why the Princess, the Generals & the ladies from Napoleon's fallen court, invited by Congress to come to this matchless magnificence of nature to cultivate the Vine & Olive, failed. Speaking of the face of nature unbroken, Mr. Ravesies wrote to the Secretary of War from "Aigle-ville" (Demopolis) in 1827: "The Surveyors report of these lands will exhibit the difficulty of passing through the country, their notes showing that for many days they could not proceed more than 2 or 3 miles per day."

What was the matter with the surveyors, proceeding through the lines afoot? There are two patches of virgin forest now left that I found & I will speak of them. The forest growth is enormous & varied, oak of several varieties, red gum, ash, poplar, sycamore, walnut, red cedar, enormous cotton wood, every known forest tree of the South in fact, except pine, I may say. There is

not a pine that I have seen. The trees are not only majestic in size & prodigal in supply but the earth between them up to their very bodies is possessed by towering cane whose tops droop in among the limbs, even twenty feet above ground or higher. A rabbit even must pause in his leaps to calculate his bearings & pick his course through the cane. Only imagine the matchless area, 22 miles from Uniontown on the east line of the parallelogram to Demopolis on the west, 35 miles from Greensboro on the northern line to Dayton on the Southern, in such a condition of nature.

The Bonapartists with no labor save unwilling German hirelings, neither master or servant familiar with the speech of the other, surrendered to the impossibilities of their situation. Stollenwerck, Bayol, Fournier & a few others remained. Ravemies, George N. Stewart, Madame George went to Mobile. General Lefebvre-Desnouettes had received the consent of the home authorities to his return at last to Berlin. He sailed & was lost at sea. Colonel Raoul went to Mexico when that country became independent of Spain, engaged in the military service but was ultimately recalled to France.

The semi-eleemosynary legislation of Congress, designed experimentally to transplant the most notable soldiers of Europe & their wives from the most brilliant of royal courts to the conquest of the Canebrake wilds, had the effect of giving extraordinary publicity to the new country. News spread abroad through the plantations of Virginia & the Carolinas of General Lefebvre-Desnouettes' gallery of art, hidden in the darkness of the cane, a log hut in the centre of which was a statue of Napoleon & around the walls a score of the trophies of the most historic battle fields of modern times. There were tales of French balls in the open, the stumps & brush cleared for the dancers; it was told that Colonel Raoul's one room cabin on French creek, was built around the stump of a massive oak & that upon this dining table the best vintages of France were drained to the memory of the Emperor. Ferryman Raoul's wife was, at home, Marchioness of Sinabalde & maid of Honor to Queen Caroline. As she made her way to the cow pen for the usual evening's milking her Italian arias floated out among the tree tops of the canebrake.

These reports from the wilderness, so unfamiliar & romantic, led young University men of the Southern Atlantic States, heirs to fortune in chattel black labor, to seek information. A young New Englander, Joseph Blodgett Stickney had come to the coast of

North Carolina about the time the Bonapartists reached their forest homes in the Canebrake. Young Stickney soon married a daughter of a North Carolina Senator, an owner of slaves. The bride's dowery came in slaves.

The New England groom brought from home an energy incarnate. Having heard of the rich land & the failure of the French allottees he resolved to go across the wilderness to see for himself. If the half told him was true, slave labor & African blood might be expected to solve the difficulty destructive of the French. He strapped to his saddle a heavy blanket for the nightly bivouac; he filled his saddle bags with ground coffee & a change of shirts, hooking a pint tin cup to the baggage. A pocket compass would determine his course through the wilds, over unbridged streams. The solitary ride begun.

Mr. Stickney finally drew rein on one of the Bonapartist allotments near the little hamlet Greensboro. He went back as he had come to bring thither slaves & wife & babe.

He chartered a schooner in Pamlico sound to bring his black people, farm implements, an iron hand mill to grind corn, etc. to Mobile. The mahogany dining table that was put aboard for the new home is there yet.

The good schooner landed Mr. Stickney & all his emigrant cargo at the port of Mobile, a swampy little town, half Spanish still. General Lefebvre-Desnouettes had his horse there & the two men agreed to ride the 200 miles back together.

A double room log cabin was built on the new place to receive Mrs. Stickney & the babe and as soon as the husband could ride the road back home, he brought his family in the coach.

The Commander of Napoleon's cavalry of the Guards was a most delightful companion to the Stickneys. He pulled their latch string from the outside, ever & anon. Of war he could be persuaded seldom to speak. He said the sight of blood from a beheaded chicken sickened him. A second son came into the new home, their first born in Alabama, & they gave him the name Charles Lefebvre.

The plantation barons quickly possessed the superb land. A parallel history of settlement of a broad area is unknown in America or in the round world. John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War when the War Office had supervision of the French grant. When his eldest son, Andrew Pickens, had graduated at the South Carolina College, completed his studies at Yale, his illustrious

father's alma mater, the father directed the son to the Canebrake as the garden spot of the South West; & when he had married a daughter of General Duff Green of Washington City, he built a log cabin in the heart of the forest, put brussels carpets on the puncheon floors, hung the walls with family portraits, set up the rosewood piano, opened the great mahogany dining table & moved his accomplished bride in. In a season or two the cane was cleared away from some acres about the cabin, plank cut by the whip saw driven by faithful negro men had taken the place of the puncheon floor, the original two rooms had enlarged to a dozen, all encased in the plank product of the whip saw, all papered within & white washed without, the great brass andirons & tall fenders glistened on the white limestone hearth, the silver plate & the wine decanters adorned the mahogany side board, the library & the mails, & the neighbors visits & the great flower garden, where 150 varieties of roses bloomed in luxuriance unequalled attested the success of the transplanting of University men, their polished wives, their matchless black servants, & their African chattel labor to the Canebrake.

About 1820, perhaps, young Dr. Robert Walker Withers rode his horse from Virginia & brought his slaves along to settle one or more allottments purchased from the disheartened Bonapartists, bordering on the eastern bank of the Black Warrior river, near the Stickney settlement. Dr. Withers was a University man, a physician by profession. He made his mark in the Canebrake. He built on the bank of the Warrior, a navigable stream, a grist mill, flour mill & saw mill & maintained an active trade in his products up & down the river from Tuscaloosa, up stream, to Mobile down stream. He built above his mills a commodious & handsome residence "Millwood", for his family, & his dinners were famous the country around. He bred running horses for the turf & was an active leader in literary & religious movements. He introduced to the world the artesian well power to turn machinery. Around the crest of an elevation, partly encompassing his mill, he sunk seven artesian wells, each well throwing above the surface a bold stream. The seven streams were conducted to a brick lined canal that poured its volume of water upon the turbine wheel which drove the machinery. From one of these wells a most unexpected flow of petroleum for a time came. The oil floating on the surface of the Black Warrior caught fire & down the winding stream a serpentine breadth of fire pursued its way until exhausted. The incident was heard of all over the United States. Sir Charles

Lyell, visiting the interesting American geological formations, came by advice of Professor Tuomey from Tuscaloosa on a visit to "Millwood". He declared the seven artesian wells were among the wonders of the earth. He saw much of Southern slavery he had never expected to see. I will relate an incident. A negro man on an adjacent plantation came to Dr. Withers saying that he was to be sold at auction for his master's debt & earnestly solicited the doctor to buy him. On day advertised for the auction, several hours before dawn Dr. Withers rose, drank a cup of coffee & seated himself behind his Chateau Margaux mare to drive 40 miles to Eutaw the Court house & back to the mid day sale. He made the drive on time, both ways, but barely on time. The anxious black man had actually been put on the block but Dr. Withers was not yet on the ground. As the Auctioneer was about to call for bids, the negro very calmly spoke: "Gentlemen, I ask that no bid be made on me. I have picked out my new master. He will buy me. He is not here now but he will come presently. He is Dr. Withers & will not disappoint me." At that instant Dr. Withers drove up, placed his bid & the sale was closed. The mills, the breeding stables & agricultural operations of Dr. Withers were superintended by himself with tireless activity & there was no labor engaged but his own African slave labor. So efficient was the labor & so faithful & intelligent were the black foremen in all the varied divisions of the enterprises that the master found time for pleasure in literature, politics & general society. He was a profuse contributor to scientific current literature of the country, one of the founders of the Alabama Historical Association, where he was wont to read special papers, an active vestryman of the Episcopal church & a gentleman of influence in the cultured planters society around him. His favorite amusement, the training of his home, raised running horses, was incidentally a public good.

Dr. Withers, Dr. Purnell, a Marylander, Dr. Witherspoon, from South Carolina, a Princeton alumnus & Dr. Randolph from Virginia, all retired physicians & near neighbors, were congenial associates & cotton planters. They were all University men.¹

Dr. Randolph was of the historic Virginia blood & his wife was Miss Beverly. He began life as a surgeon in the United States navy. In that capacity he served through the war of 1812.

(¹) It is not the purpose here to write a biography. Perhaps 100 planters living on their estates comprised the "Canebrake District". It was a phenomenally congenial society. The design here is to present a few well known personally to the writer as types of all planters.

Resigning, he engaged in the practice of his profession in New Orleans. His handsome person, singularly polished address, skilled in his art combined with the then envied glamour of a voluntarily retired officer of the United States navy, at once lifted him to the front rank of society in that brilliant city. Dr. Randolph's disciplined mind discovered itself in the habits of a planter. A mile from Greensboro he purchased many hundreds of acres of plantation & built, in a dense oak grove, several hundred yards from the highway, the baronial-like residence, "Oakleigh". There were tall columns, deep galleries, wide halls, high ceilings & abundance of large rooms, most suggestively arranged for a boundless hospitality. Mrs. Randolph was notable among the matchless housewives for the "ship shape" condition of the residence & the premises. The acres of grove, the great vegetable garden, the orchard, the flower garden, the dairy, the apiary, the poultry yard all fell under her special supervision. It was not so hard a task to manage. There was an intelligent, ambitious & faithful servant assigned to every division of the establishment. The servants never relaxed in devotion to the "house". Once in position, always in position. "Oakleigh" had special occasions of hospitality & frequently they crowded upon each other. "Oakleigh" dinners & balls were the bright events ahead throughout the community, but more characteristic of the hospitality of the place was the practically ceaseless entertainment of neighbors who came in unannounced beforehand, to spend the day & dine, or to spend the night & the forenoon of the next day. Nobody was in a hurry.

Every winter, friends & relations from Virginia, or Maryland or New Orleans would come to pass some weeks. Among these was Robert Beverly Randolph, a brother of the master, with his accomplished wife & young daughter. R. B. Randolph was famous as the Lieutenant of the Navy who had wrenched President Jackson's nose under most aggravating impulse of the moment.

There were few exceptions among the settlers of the Canebrake to the University man with his inheritance of African labor. Yet there were notable exceptions. John Nelson came to the little hamlet, Greensboro, a stranger. He built a one room log cabin & on shelves around the walls stored shot, powder, tobacco for sale. He bought a small tract of land. Then bought a negro & in judicious enterprise soon came to be one of the large planters. Several other instances of this kind might be mentioned. The point of remark is, that men of energy & tact grew rich rapidly

buying land & negroes to produce cotton. There are several millionaire cotton planters in Alabama, whose fortunes are plantation made.

Coming down to Demopolis, the cotton shipping point of all the Canebrake, we find two large shipping & receiving ware houses there, a post office & a few general merchandising stores. The six-mule wagons from the plantations came in loaded with the ugly square bales of cotton piled up ten feet. The teams & teamsters spend the night at the ware house, receive the return load, consisting of family & plantation supplies, when any, next morning and return home, to repeat the trip on the alternate days. The planters and their wives go to Mobile by river steamer every winter, after the cotton crop has been marketed at that port, to lay in twelve months supplies in clothing, groceries, iron etc.

Mr. Francis Strother Lyon, one of the handsomest public men of the State, &, in deed, of the United States, as to that matter, is a lawyer, planter, financier & statesman living at "Bluff Hall", on the tall white cliff that overhangs the Tombeckbe at the old Bonapartist settlement of Demopolis. At the same place is "Gaineswood", the residence of General Nathan Bryan Whitfield, a planter. Both of these gentlemen are North Carolinians. Mrs. Harrison of "Faunsdale", between Demopolis & Uniontown is from the old town Edenton, on the Roanoke near the coast of North Carolina. Both families have the coat of arms borne by their English ancestry.

No society, urban or rural, possesses individual members superior in all the graces of these three mentioned citizens of the Canebrake. "Gaineswood" was built entirely after the plan designed by the master. He was exclusively the architect. No labor whatever appeared on the building except the master's negro slaves, until house painters & fresco workers were called in from Philadelphia.

The Bonapartists had given up in despair by 1830 & gone away. The young slave masters & their families & black people flocked to the allottments. In twenty years, the majestic forest had so diminished that from Greensboro to Dayton, north to south, or from Uniontown to Demopolis, east to west, only small patches, not sufficient for a provident supply of plantation timber remained.

The precipitate occupancy of this country & the unparalleled rapidity with which forest so enormous & majestic were reduced to splendid fields of cotton & corn was a phenomenon in the

American settlement & industry worthy of profound attention. The negro slave proved himself the most effective pioneer laborer America had ever been blessed with. In capacity, docility & fidelity he was semi-mechanical. He introduced in truth the age of mechanics & political economy.

The canebrake lies under the naked eye, now a vast plane measureless of dimension, the bed of the great inland sea, the waters lifted by forces within the earth & thrown down the currents of the two great rivers, the Alabama on the east & the Tombekbe on the west into the Gulf. The mighty angry billows hastening away, left the imprint of dip & crest upon the bed of the sea, now the pregnant fields of noble industry. There are no high hills, no wide valleys but a ceaseless & grateful undulation of the surface over which pass wide roads connecting plantations. All along the drive way & all along the plow furrows oyster shells & remains of other inhabitants of the departed sea are plentifully exposed to the eye.

The plantations of 1,000 to 2,000 acres join each other with ceaseless regularity. Every plantation contains the master's home & half mile perhaps away "the quarters", the cabins where the slaves live, where the white overseer lives & the barns & cattle sheds.

Negro slaves in the Canebrake have attained to the highest physical, mental & moral status of the race any where known, perhaps. The cause is easily seen. The master is a gentleman. Every day he rides his well accoutred, well bred horse among the toilers in his fields & through the quarters. He is dressed as a gentleman. Every soul he passes accosts him courteously. The tasks to be performed are simple, not burdensome & the master sees all. His intelligent direction is education in doing to the slave. The mistress gives daily attention to the sick, young & old, male & female. Sunday the white plantation missionary preaches to the negroes in the chapel. Often the mistress & her daughters attend & join in the sacred songs. The imitative negro rises apace with the appreciative master. No one has ever heard of a fugitive slave, by the underground railroad from all this region of plantations. As the plantations vary in acreage the numbers of slaves on them vary from 50 to 300 souls. The utmost care is taken by the master to feed bountifully & clothe sufficiently his plantation laborers & the children. The diet is corn meal, pork and vegetables. The children are taken by their mothers early in the morning

to the plantation nursery, where careful negro female nurses, feed & guard them while the mothers go to fields. As the children pass into years indicating strength to labor, they are placed under an old negro who takes them under training in the fields. No rivalry in the field or in the quarters is ever heard, nor vulgar speech, no theft, no drunkenness, no divorce of married people. Family groceries are under lock & key but I don't know of a lock on a barn door in all the land. The negroes are regulated in their minds & manners by the relative culture of the master & his family. I never see a master in his shirt sleeves in the field or about his own house. All is decorum & propriety in manners & speech.

Our first Christmas in our new Canebrake home was used by our near neighbors to express their hearty welcome. Mr. Calhoun was a college mate of my father's. At his home "Tulip Hill", we were invited to spend half the week of holiday. There was no work on the plantations. Whites & Blacks were joyous in the annually recurring season. Barrels of tropical fruits, & a barrel of pure whiskey, were opened for the plantation people. Christmas night was the favorite date for marriages among the negroes. No license was called for by the law but the master's consent was a condition precedent to the nuptials. On this Christmas night the entire household of "Tulip Hill" were invited to a cabin to witness the marriage of one of Mrs. Calhoun's maids to one of the field hands. All whites & all blacks attended. The bride & groom were becomingly dressed, the white clergyman of the Parish read the Episcopal Church ritual; the dancing & the supper followed, the yard without being the reception room.

The remaining half of the week we spent by invitation at "Faunsdale", the plantation home of Dr. and Mrs. Harrison & their only child, Miss Louise. There we met as guests of the occasion, Mr. Daly of New York, the music teacher of a female academy at Marion, & his assistant, a young Prussian recently arrived, Nicola Marschal, also M Blanche, a Frenchman, the music teacher at Dayton female academy with his assistant, Miss Hatfield. The improvised orchestra & dancing & feasting ruled the hours & the days & nights.

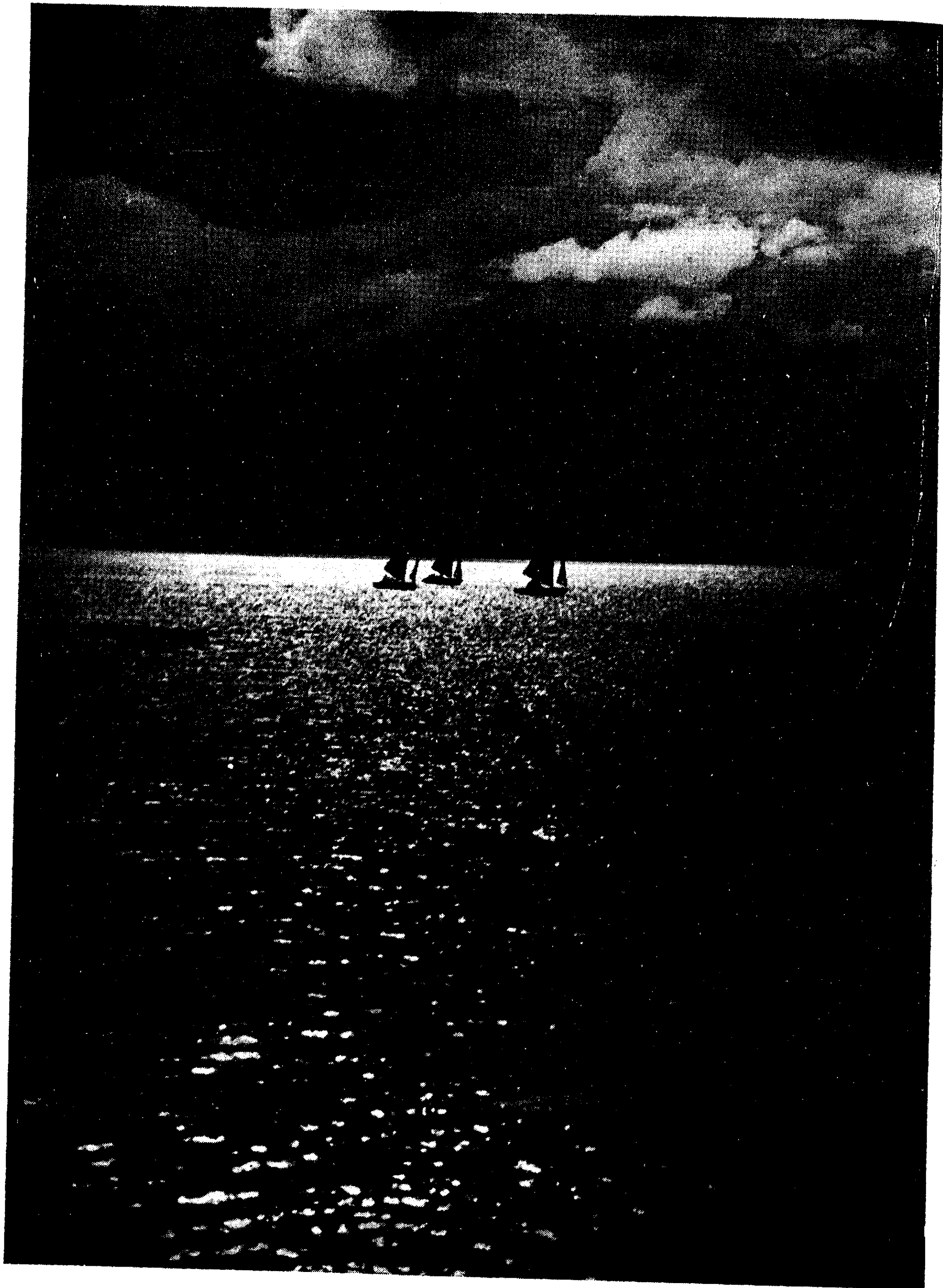
The proportion of blacks to whites in this plantation region is supposed to be 25 blacks to 1 white. Few plantations contain less than 50 slaves—few more than 300. Most of the planters may be considered possessed of a quarter of a million dollars worth of land & slaves & live stock. The gross average income is ten to

fifteen thousand. The living expenses are light, when the quality of the living is taken into the estimate. The incomparable & numerous corps of domestic servants receive no wages; the plantations yard supply all the meats, etc., the pleasure horses, the vegetables & fruits. The planters & their families patronize the best tailors & mantua makers, but there is a corps of negro seamstresses in every family. The clothing for the field hands is bought in the bolt & made up under the eye of the mistress by home seamstresses. Summer & winter clothing & shoes are issued at stated times. The cabins are kept in repair, the premises cleaned, order maintained under the eye of the master. It may all result in a negative morality but it is wholesome, for the discipline of the plantation secures health to the slaves, contentment, industry & order. At daylight bell tap by the negro foreman, all the "hoe hands" in line with weeding hoes on their shoulders take up the line of march to the field for the day's chopping in the growing cotton; the foreman bringing up the rear. By the same signal, all the plowman walk quickly to the barn to gear up each his mule, & led by the foreman of plows, rides bare back to the field. At the proper hour the plantation cook fills the little tin buckets with corn pone, hominy, gravy & fried pork, a yam or cow peas added, & the cart starts to deliver breakfast to the "hands". A negro girl or boy, all day carries a bucket of water among the toilers. Dinner & supper are essentially the same as breakfast, ample, strong diet, well cooked. Among 40 plowmen at the barn at dawn to gear up the mules, Giles claimed that Jim had misplaced his own bridle & had slyly taken Giles'. A pugilistic encounter between the men followed on the spot, in which Giles with a barlow knife made a deep & perilous gash near Jim's jugular vein. The neighborhood surgeon sewed up the wound safely. The law was not appealed to for a moment. Giles went on to his usual work & Jim was sent home to nurse his wound. Twice daily Giles received from the overseer a few stripes & this penalty he was called on to bear for a couple of weeks, when justice was pronounced satisfied. The State imposes a tax per capita on all slaves, a few cents, & this is called "the slave fund". It is held in the State Treasury, to pay the owner the value of his slave who may have suffered capital punishment at the hands of the law. The statutes of Alabama are plain & comprehensive, securing jury trial, by whites, to slaves & among the items of protection given them by law is "house room, fuel & abundant food & clothing" for all, aged, disabled & young included.

The quality of Canebrake society is not so much found in prepared occasions, such as balls & dinners, frequent & elegant as those instances are. The custom of unannounced coming of friends from distances, five, or ten or twenty miles, to "spend the day" or spend a day or night or week, is the distinctive test. It is a custom justified in the uninterrupted independence of each family in its domestic appointments. If two, four, six additional horses of visiting guests appear at the barn, the stalls are ready, the stable boys are there. The corn & fodder would be in stock whether the visitors come or not. The larder is filled from Mobile once a year & replenished from Mobile on an emergency by a simple order on the cotton factor there. Nothing is paid for until the annual⁽¹⁾ notable people of Southern, indeed of American history. The author of "The Star Spangled Banner", has two bachelor nephews, Henry & William Key who live on their plantation & are delightful associates, Mr. James Lewis Price, a Richmond gentleman directly connected with the Washington family lives on his estate "Westwood". All the plantations bear names. "Athol" the home of the McRaes. "Waldwie" the homes of the Graceys. At "Bleak House", the home of the Lewises, there are more than a score of paintings in oil, fine copies of the work of Murillo, Corriggio, Raphael, etc. The names of Pickens, Walthall, Pegues, Ellerbe, Strudwick, Cocke, Webb, found on the plantations indicate an inheritance in the planters of social character established generations ago in the older States. Captain Reuben Vaughan, commissioned an officer in the revolutionary war by Governor Patrick Henry, brought his large and influential family of sons, daughters & sons-in-law from Virginia. They owned plantations seven miles deep along the road. One of his two sons, Dr. Samuel Watkins Vaughan, is a prosperous planter & perhaps the most skillful physician of the entire community. The leader of Washington city society, Mr. Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, owns a large plantation, "Windsor", here. One of his brothers, Mr. Henry A. Tayloe, came early among the immigrants. He owned & entered on the turf some of the most famous racers. Among these "Black Maria", who ran 16 miles, in four-mile heats, on the Metarie course, New Orleans, the same afternoon, winning the race. Messrs. John Williams & George E. Tayloe, nephews of the Washington city gentleman, are leaders of Canebrake society.

(¹) A page is missing from the manuscript.

June 1, 1865. The war is over. The list of killed or wounded includes almost every house in the land. The negroes are free. But for the revolutionary influence of the Freedman's Bureau the community would be without a ripple of excitement. The negroes are at work in peace & contentment save where led astray by the Bureau.



The Sea Is A Senorita

(To Mobile Bay by Moonlight)

By MARTHA LYMAN SHILLITO

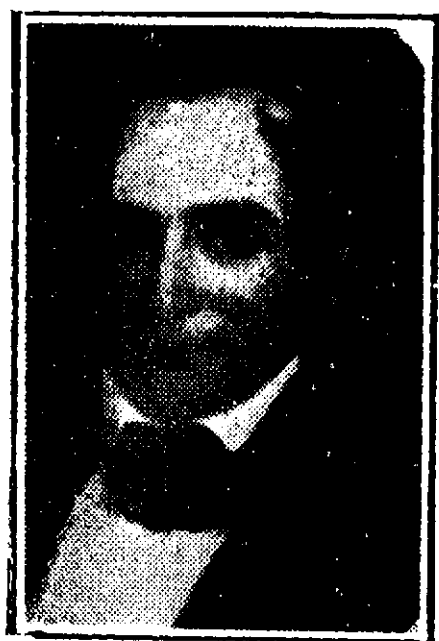
*The sea is a Senorita fair
With a comb of shell in her swirl of hair.
About her a silken shawl she flings
That swishes gaily, yet softly clings.
Sometimes she flaunts its silver folds,
Stamps her foot and shrilly scolds.
In fury having spent her strength
She swoons upon her couch, full-length,
Her spangled shawl a shimmering heap
Beside her, as she falls asleep.*

THE SUPREME COURT OF ALABAMA, ITS ORGANIZATION AND SKETCHES OF ITS CHIEF JUSTICES¹

By JOHN C. ANDERSON

No. 2

The Circuit Judges of the five Alabama Districts under the Constitution of 1819 comprised the membership of the State Supreme Court. Abner Smith Lipscomb, one of the five, on account of high



JUDGE ABNER S.
LIPSCOMB

water, failed to arrive at Cahaba, the capital, at the time set for the formation of the bench, and those who were present selected the youngest of their number, C. C. Clay, as Chief Justice. In 1823 Judge Clay resigned from the bench to resume the practice of the law, and Judge Lipscomb was selected as his successor. In 1832 the Supreme Court was established as a separate and distinct body and as Judge Lipscomb was the Chief Justice of this new organization it might be very properly claimed that he was in fact the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Abner Smith Lipscomb² was born February 10, 1789, in Abbeville District, S. C., and died December 3, 1857, near Austin, Texas. He was the son of Joel and Elizabeth (Chiles) Lipscomb, natives of Culpepper County, Va., the former a Revolutionary officer who moved to South Carolina prior to that event. He later migrated to the Mississippi Territory where he settled in Washington County on the Tombigbee River. In 1817 this section was included in what is now the State of Alabama. Young Lipscomb studied law in the office of George Bowie at Abbeville, S. C., and John C. Calhoun, the great South Carolina statesman. In 1811 he settled at St. Stephens, which was then a considerable pioneer town, to be designated five years later as the Territorial Capital of Alabama. When the Creek Indians, acting under the demoralizing influence of Tecumseh, (who had come to Alabama to stir up the red men against the whites in the interest of the British who were at war with the United States), gave vent to their hostile feelings by the massacre of the pioneers at Ft. Mims, the

¹This is the second of a series of articles by Judge Anderson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alabama. The first article treated of the organization of the first Supreme Court and the election by members of C. C. Clay as Chief Justice. See Alabama Historical Quarterly, Spring Issue, 1930.

²See Owen's Hist. of Ala. and Dict. of Ala. Biog., Vol. 3, p. 1052.

young men of the section formed themselves into a volunteer military company of which Abner Lipscomb was made Captain. At the conclusion of the Creek Indian War of 1813-14 the young soldier returned to his law office and when the first Territorial Legislature met he was among its members.

Very soon his legal ability was recognized and he was appointed as one of the five Circuit Judges of the State and in that capacity was a member of the Supreme Court. He served as Chief Justice from 1824 to 1835 when he resigned and removed to Mobile.

Judge Lipscomb had resided in his new home only three years when he was selected to represent Mobile County in the Legislature. Through his influence the common-law system of pleading was simplified and the judicature of the State rendered more uniform.

In 1839 Judge Lipscomb removed to Texas. His reputation had preceded him and he was invited by President Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, of the Republic of Texas, to accept the post of Secretary of State in the President's Cabinet. He warmly espoused the policy of the annexation of Texas and when that great empire had become a State he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1845. The provisions of the Texas Constitution, adopted at that time, relating to homestead exemptions and marital rights, were largely the result of his influence. When the Supreme Court of Texas was organized Judge Lipscomb was selected as one of its members and was adorning that position at the time of his death, having served for 11 years. His memory is perpetuated in Texas by Lipscomb County, named in his honor.

Soon after coming to Alabama, Abner Lipscomb married Elizabeth Gaines, daughter of a planter, and upon her death he married Mrs. Mary P. Bullock, daughter of Dr. Thomas Hunt, of Austin, Texas.

Judge Lipscomb left a family of nine or ten children, among them Ellen, who married Percy Walker of Huntsville, lawyer and Congressman from the State of Alabama.

THE "GOOD OLD DAYS" IN MARSHALL COUNTY

By C. G. FENNEL

Men of advanced age are apt to think of the "Good Old Days" only in retrospect, but as a matter of fact, there is no comparison between the conveniences of life now, and those we enjoyed in 1860. This is especially true in regard to communication and transportation. The "Good Old Days" did not begin nor end with 1860, but prior to that date we must rely largely upon tradition, as the section under discussion has found but small place in written history, and few men are now living who can give data from personal experience.

This article relates specifically to that part of Marshall County lying on the Tennessee River and remote from the county seat and not in close touch with neighbors. Tennessee River afforded the only means of ingress and egress for a large section of North Alabama, except by crude dirt roads and horse-drawn vehicles. The highway, then known as the "big road," was the main artery of commerce from the live stock and fruit growing section of Tennessee and Kentucky to the cotton belt of Alabama and Georgia. This highway led directly from Huntsville to Ft. Deposit, (Deposit Ferry).

Large droves of mules, and swine were driven through the country and crossed the river at Deposit. Facilities for handling large bodies of stock were crude and primitive. Boats were pulled across with oars, and 20 or 25 head of mules made a load. Traders had arranged with farmers along the road to provide food and troughs for mules and horses, and lodging for the drovers. These farms were about a day's march apart, and were known as mule stands. Where crops were growing, the road was fenced in, making a lane that was of great assistance to the drovers in keeping their mules from straying while waiting for the final load. Hogs were usually fed in the road and they were generally fat, showed little disposition to stray away, but would promptly tumble down as soon as they were fed. One such stand was located about four miles from the river, and another some thirty miles further south, at the foot of Sand Mountain. This road and ferry were kept in use until about 1890, when the county established a free ferry at Guntersville, when the business at Deposit gradually shifted to the free ferry.

The ferry was not free to non-residents, but the old road was always bad, and was worked by the old plan of ten days work for

each able bodied man along the route. It was never a satisfactory method, and the road steadily grew worse, until within recent years, the ferry at Deposit has been discontinued. Late in the last century, the long projected railroad from Gadsden to Guntersville was completed and the people of the valley began to think that they had arrived at the zenith of modern progress. Telegraph lines followed the railroad, and it really was a great step forward. Soon thereafter the telephone came, and we knew that our section would be heard from.

After the telephone, came the automobile, which was received with many misgivings. It was really a torture to ride in a car on the roads that we had. At first, it was expected that only rich people could afford to own a car, and grumbling was loud and persistent about keeping roads in order for a chosen few. Teams were frightened and many accidents made the auto very unpopular, until the model "T" put them in reach of all. Then went up a shout for improved roads, and the shout was heard and road building began on a small scale with county means. This was so satisfactory that bond issues began for road building. The impulse reached the state and adjoining states, and the result is that every man who has sufficient credit now owns a car. Travel has increased from a distance, and cars may be seen now in any town, with tags from Canada to Florida. The steam ferry at Guntersville has become inadequate, so that now a splendid bridge, the "George S. Houston" bridge, spans the Tennessee River at Guntersville. The road from Guntersville south is hard surfaced and the trip that required a day in former years, may now be made in two hours.

McGILLIVRAY AND THE CREEKS

By ALBERT JAMES PICKETT

(The Alabama Historical Quarterly has great pride in presenting Col. Pickett's hitherto unpublished article, "McGillivray and the Creeks," the substance of which appears in Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 385-407, under the heading "The Deep Intrigues of McGillivray." This article was found among Col. Pickett's manuscripts and presented through the courtesy of his granddaughter, Miss Lizzie Banks Pickett, of Montgomery. —EDITOR.)

"Col. Marinus Willet was born the 31st July, 1740, in Jamaca, Long Island, State of New York, of a respectable family. He was an active officer in the campaign against the French in Canada, in the ranks of the english—& when the Revolutionary war broke out espoused the side of the Americans, & with the rank of Colonel fought all through the Revolutionary period with great success—Washington reposed great confidence in him.

In the commencement of President Washington's administration, the Creeks at the South were at open war with the Americans. They could bring into the field 6000 fighting men—Their leader Col. McGillivry¹, was much irritated at the confiscation of his father's property in Georgia by the Whigs—Several other refugees from that State had their property confiscated & these united with McGillivry in feelings of hatred. But the immediate point in the contest between them was a tract of land on the Oconee, which the State of Georgia claimed under a purchase the validity of which the Indians denied. The regular effective force of the U. S. was less than six hundred men². To adjust differences & to negotiate a peace with the Creeks, Genl. Lincoln, Mr. Griffin & Col. Humphres were sent on a mission into that country, they met McGillivry with other chiefs & about two thousand warriors at Rock landing on the Oconee on the frontiers of Georgia. The treaty commenced with appearances, favourable, but was soon abruptly broken off by McGillivry. Some difficulty existed on the subject of the boundary, but the principle obstacles were supposed to grow out of his personal interests & his connections with Spain.

The Creeks still continuing hostile through the influence of the Spaniards, it was resolved to make another attempt to avert war & depredations, and the agent to be employed was to proceed to the

¹In his History, Colonel Pickett spells the name "McGillivray," but in the uncorrected mss. presented here, he spells it "McGillivry."

²Vide Marshall Vol. V, p. 181.



COL. ALBERT JAMES PICKETT
From a portrait at the age of twenty-one.

nation on other pretexts, should carry a letter to Genl. McGillivry, blending with other subjects, a strong representation of the miseries which a war with the U. S. would bring upon his people—of the indiscretion of breaking off the negotiation at Rock Landing & an earnest exhortation to repair with the Chiefs of his nation to the seat of the federal government, in order to effect a solid & satisfactory peace.

The bearer of the letter also was to be furnished with passports & letters of safe conduct, to be used if the occasion should require them; but he was instructed not to avow the authority with which he

was invested, unless he was well assured that the proposition he was authorized to make would be well received.³

The day after the return of the Commission with a report of the failure to make a treaty, Genl Knox invited Co. Willett to call upon Washington who wished to see him. The President gave Willett to understand that suspicions were entertained that the people of Georgia were not friendly to a peace, but anxious to procure from Congress a fund to subdue them—that by a statement of the Secretary of War would require \$15,000.00 to effect this & that a considerable portion of the troops had to be furnished by the northern States. The President was possessed with the opinion that if a person acquainted with the Indians, could enter the Creek country with such instructions as he would furnish, without the knowledge of the people of Georgia a war might be prevented & treaties entered into between the U. S. & the Creeks. The President closed his remarks by requesting Co. Willett to undertake the mission.

Col. Willett engaged in the service in conformity with the wish of the President. All things ready & with necessary instructions, Col. Willett left New York the 15th March 1790 embarking on board of a sloop with a servant & two horses for Charleston & after a tedious passage of 14 days arrived there where his friend Mr. Adam Gilchrist in Quest Lane, provided him with lodgings. He remained here until the 2nd of April preparing for his journey, and on that day left Charleston, with the principal part of his baggage in a sulky in which his servant rode, while he himself went on horseback. The Servant soon showing sign of fear, he sent him back to New York & supplied his place with a german of whose integrity he was suspicious.

He reached Genl Pickens on the Seneca on the 13th April with whom he spent a couple of days very agreeably, while the General procured him an indian as a guide into the country of the Cherokees. His name was Young Coon—he bore a good name & his open, manly countenance corresponded with his character—here Co. Willett also purchased two additional horses—one for a bow-horse & the other for the indian to ride.

On Monday, April 19th, at 10 o'clock, Willett crossed the Seneca at Genl. Picken's ferry & commenced his journey in the following order Young Coon in front, himself next, the bow horse loaded with his own baggage & John in the rear. With Genl Pickens who accompanied him across the river, he now took leave remembering with gratitude

³See p. 229, 273, V. Vol. Marshall.

that kindness of that gentleman & his Lady who both rendered him ever comfort and assistance. Stopped for the night on the bank of the Tugeloo at the House of Col. Cleveland. After a journey leisurely made, Willett arrived at Santee the first of the indian towns in the cherokee country, which contained eighteen houses & was surrounded with mountains. He passed by Little Chotee and arrived at a town named Huntoweekee situated on both sides of a branch of the Coosa & contains about 50 houses. Next passed Long Swamp or Neuecono, he, ta. This town lies along the bank of a river called Hightower which empties into the Coosa. Here he met Mr. Thomas Gogg to whom he bore a letter from Pickens & who readily persued the journey with him to a town⁴ called Pine Log, where he resided & was settled as a trader.

The chief of the town called Yellow Bird received Col. Willett with hospitality. He here had the pleasure of witnessing a ball play. Went to Euestenasee which is the beloved town of the Cherokee nation where peace is discussed & settled and like a city of refuge, the guilty flying here are safe from punishment while they remain in it—No blood can be spilt in this place—It lies along Coosa River. To Badger & Robber-son two indian chiefs who reside here he bore a letter & was kindly received by them—tarried at night with the indian interpreter (Mr. Carey) & next day engaged him & Roberson to accompany him to the Creek nation—with this increased company, proceeded to Hihotee, the last of the Cherokee towns in this quarter. The expenses of the journey for such as Coon, &c, &c, were paid for in ribbons & paints. A cherokee half breed, Mr. Hughes, is here comfortably situated & gave Willett a friendly reception—crossed the Hightower in a canoe & swam the horses the next day—placed Cary in front, then Roberson, then himself, then the bow horse while Young Coon & John brought up the rear. On the 28th crossed the Pumpkin Posk mountains which lye about twenty five miles from Hightower on 30th April reached the first Creek settlement & met Mr. Scott a European who had been a trader in the Creek nation for many years & has considerable property. Learning that Col. McGillivry was at Oakfuskey 30 miles distant—Started for that place & met McGillivry at Graisons living at the Caleebee's. Willett was highly gratified to meet the remarkable person he had been so long wishing to see and deliver his letters from Washington. He says "Col. McGillivry is a man of an open candid generous mind, with a good judgment & very tenacious memory. The land at the hillabies was good, the route from the Hightower here was S.W.

⁴Willett's Narrative, pages 96, 97, 98.

1st & 2nd of May was passed at the house of Mr. Graison. Here he witnessed for the first time the black drink. It is an ancient custom & carries with it the appearance of a religious nature. The decoction is from the casina leaf, parched before made up. The drink is boiled in the centre of a square set apart in every town near what is called the hot House. The square consists of four rows of seats from forty to fifty yards long fronting each other leaving an opening at each angle for entrance. The seats are neatly matted with reed & covered with bark. They are ten or twelve feet deep, rising higher in the rear than in the front, so as to give each person as he sits an opportunity of seeing what is doing in the square. The Hot houses are nearly in a circular form, seated in the same manner & covered close with bark having only one small door of entrance. They are large enough to contain several hundred persons. when the *black drink* is ready boiled a principal warrior goes to it & calls as many warriors (of eminence) as he may think proper to assist him in serving out the drink. To each of these the chief warrior hands a gourd full of drink. These men having received the drink, arrange themselves directly in front of the persons intended first to be served & at a given signal these place it to their mouths & hold it their till the waiters have sung out two long notes. Then the waiters serve others saying to them drink, drink until the pots are emptied. But at the commencement of every fresh boiling the notes are repeated.

During the ceremony the chiefs exhort the young men to perform their duties & admonish them on such subjects as they deem most beneficial. In these squares and hot houses busks are likewise held.

On the 3rd of May Willett & his party set out with Col. McGillivry from Graisons. The servant of McGillivry also accompanied them. Willett was under many obligations to Graison & family for their hospitality. Ten miles travel brought them to Fish Pond town. In the evening he attended black drink & a dance here. On the 4th the party arrived at the Hickory ground where Col. McGillivry lives. Course from Caleebee here So.W. 5th & 6th remained at Col. McGillivry's—the people in the next town are busking for mulberries (Coosawda).

May the 7th Col. McGillivry sent out 10 broken days for the chiefs of the lower towns to meet at Oswitchy to consult on public business. Leaving this day Willett went to a place called the "apple grove" five miles above the Hickory ground. It is the Col's. birthplace & is well improved. This residence is more pleasant than the one he has at Hickory ground, both ly on the beautiful Coosa. Here he had a delicious regale of mulberries & strawberries. He dined here on a fair

dinner of fish and venison—on the 8th went to see old french fort Toulouse, the remains of which are scarcely visible on the 10th Willett went to see a ball play—on the 10th & 11th he was very busy preparing papers for the treaty—on the 12th, sat out for the lower towns in company with McGillivry & one two servants arrived at Tuckabatchy at 4 o'clock and stoped at the house of Mr. Cornell's the interpreter. 13th crossed the Tallapoosa accompanied by the interpreter & proceeded to the Tallissee kings, twenty miles distant—stoped at the house of old McQueen who said he had been a trader in this nation between fifty & sixty years. Next day arrived at the Hollowing Kings—reached the Cowetas, & put up with Mr. Deresaws a trader of this place. It is a numerous settlement & this evening there was a great taffai drinking among the indians & they were troublesome and noisy. Next day left for the town of Oswitchy which like the Eueschetas & Cowetas & many others lie along the banks of the Chattahoochee.

17th attended black drink at Oswitchy and when all the chiefs had assembled agreeable to the broken days, at 11 a.m. this day Willett delivered the following speech: Brothers, I am come from our beloved town by order of our beloved chief, George Washington, to invite you to a treaty of peace & friendship at a council fire in our beloved city.

Brothers—Our beloved chief who wishes prosperity to the red people as well as to the white, has directed me to advise you that he is very desirous of forming a lasting treaty of peace & amity with your nation. That in order to do this effectively it is his wish to have his own name & the name of your beloved chief fixed to the treaty that it may be strong and lasting.

Brothers, I am very pointedly instructed to inform you that the U. S. wants none of your lands: that effectual measures will be taken to secure them all to you by our beloved chief, who has an arm sufficiently strong to punish all such as presume to act contrary to any treaty, which he, in conjunction with your beloved chief may make.

Brothers, our beloved chief is ready to agree with your beloved chief to secure to you your lands to promote your trade by affording you means to procure goods in a cheap & easy way, & to do all such things as will contribute to promote the welfare & happiness of your nation.

Brothers, I stand before you as a messenger of peace. It is your interest & it is our interest that we should live in peace with each; I assure myself that you will attend to this friendly invitation, and

that your beloved chief with such other of your chiefs & warriors as you may choose for that purpose will repair with me to the council fire that is kindled in our beloved town, that we may form a treaty which shall be as strong as the hills and lasting as the rivers.

(After withdrawing for one hour, I was called in & received the following answer) :

Brother, we are glad to see you have come a great way & as soon as we fixed our eyes upon you we were made glad. We are poor and have not the knowledge of white people.

Brother, our father has told us whenever any white people come among us, we should take them by the hand & use them well—we have always followed this advice.

Brother, we were invited to a treaty at the rock landing. We went there—nothing was done. We were disappointed & came back with sorrow.

Brother, you say you come from your beloved chief George Washington to invite our beloved chief to a council fire in your beloved town. The road is very long, the weather very hot, but our beloved chief will go with you and such other chiefs and warriors as shall be appointed for that purpose will go with him.

Brother, all that our beloved chief shall do we will agree to. We wish you may be preserved from every evil. We count the time our beloved chief is away and when he comes back we shall be very glad to see him with a treaty that shall be as strong as the hills and as lasting as the rivers.

The business at this place having been finished to the mutual satisfaction of Willett & the warriors the party returned to Deresaw's, where they arrived at 6 o'clock and remained here during the next day. On the 19th left Deresaw's & traveled all day & camped in the woods. Next day started early & halted at the tame Kings then proceeded to Mr. Cornell's at Tuckabatchie. This is a fine settlement. The lands are very good, the prospect along the banks of the river has a delightful effect & all nature seems to conspire to make this a most agreeable settlement.

On the 21st took black drink with the chiefs at the council house of Tuckabatchie & delivered my talk to them after which I received the following answer :

Brother. You tell us you come from our beloved chief George Washington to invite us to a council fire in your beloved town, to make a peace that shall last as long as the rivers.

Brother. We are willing to be at peace. We love to stay at home and mind our own hunting. We were invited to a treaty at the Rock landing. We went there, we were made fools of & come back without doing anything.

Brother, we did not mean to go to any more treaties with your people, but you have come a great way & you speak very good. Our beloved chief & such other chiefs and warriors as may be chosen will go with you and we will agree to all they do.

At Oswitchy the answer was delivered by the Hollowing King, who is a fine looking man & a great orator and at Tuckabatchie it was delivered by a white Lieutenant, a respectable chief a venerable looking man & a good speaker. Having finished his business in the square of Tuckabatchie with good success, returned to Mr. Cornell's, took breakfast & departed for McGillivry's residence where they arrived late in the evening.

On the 2nd May wrote to the Secty of War & dispatched the letter by Mr. Cary. On the 29th crossed the Tallapoosa & went five miles to see a most superb ball play. Eighty players on a side. The men, women & children from the neighboring towns were assembled on the occasion. Their appearance was splendid. All the paths leading to the place were filled with people, some on foot, some on horseback. The play was conducted with as much order and decorum as the nature of things would admit of. The play is set on foot by one town sending a challenge to another & the time & the place fixed upon the whole night before the play is employed by the parties in dancing and some ceremonious preparations—in the morning the players paint & decorate themselves in the same manner as when they go to war. Strip of all their clothing then meet on the appointed field—the parties arrive at the same time & when they get within about half mile opposite to each other they raise the sound of the war song & the yell when presently they meet in full trot as if fiercely about to encounter in a fight. They soon become intermingled together, dancing while the noise continues. Silence then succeeds, each player places himself opposite to his antagonist. The rackets which they use are then laid against each other in the centre of the ground appointed for the game—they then proceed to measure a distance of 300 yards, one hundred and fifty each way from the centre, where they erect two poles through which the ball must pass to count *one*. The play is commenced by throwing the balls in the air from the center, every player then with their rackets of which each has two, endeavors to catch the ball and throw it between the poles; each side labouring to throw it between the

poles towards their own towns & every time this can be accomplished it counts *one*. The game is usually from 12 to twenty. This one was lost by the challengers. Large bets are made upon these occasions; and great strength agility and dexterity are displayed. This expedition was grand & well conducted. It sometimes happens that the inhabitants of a town game away all their clothes, ornaments & horses. Throughout the whole of the play the women are constantly on the alert, with bottles & gourds filled with drink, watching every opportunity to supply the players.

On the 1st June set out from Col. McGillivry's house at little Tallase on a return to New York accompanied by Col. McGillivry, his nephew & two servants with eight warriors of the upper Creeks, my man John and several bow & some spare horses. On the 9th arrived at Stony mountain. Here they were joined by the Cowetas & Cussetas to the number of 11 waiting for us. Many strange stories are told by the Indians & this solid rock which rises high in the air—on the 14th June arrived at Hopewell, crossed the Seneca River at Genl. Pickens' ferry. Here had a hearty welcome—on the 15th at Hopewell the Tallase King arrived with other Indians from the middle towns. Chinnobe also arrived from the Natchez towns with several warriors. He was called "the great Natchez warrior"—on the 18th, left the house of Genl. Pickens with twenty-six of the indians, in three wagons and four on horseback. Col. McGillivry, his nephew, two servants and an interpreter with my man were likewise on horseback & myself in my sulky. Genl. Pickens accompanied us some fifteen miles on the 27th reached Guilford C. H., N. C., where Col. McGillivry was visited by a Mrs. Brown who had formerly been a prisoner in the Creek nation. A party of indians killed her Husband, & captured her & her children. She was redeemed from captivity by Col. McGillivry with whom she afterwards lived twelve months. The meeting was truly affecting. On the 6th July Willett & his party reached Richmond. The indians were well feasted by the citizens of this place & Col. McGillivry was treated with great consideration by the eminent men. He dined with the governor council, judges & a number of the gentlemen of the bar—remaining here several days. The expedition departed for Fredericksburg where they visited the house of Mrs. Lewis, the sister of Washington, and viewed the place in which he was bred & the cottage in which his mother died. On the 17th arrived in Philadelphia where they remained until the 20th, treated with great kindness. At Elizabethtown point the party entered a sloop and landed in N. Y. where they were received in splendor by the Tammany Society in the full dress of their order & conducted

up Wall Street passed the federal Hall where Congress was in session & with much pomp & parade we were escorted to the President. We, after the introductions, visited the minister of war & Gov. Clinton, then repaired to the city Tavern where an elegant intertainment finished the day.

On the first information at St. Augustine that McGillivry was going to New York, intelligence was sent of it to Havana while the Secretary of East Florida repaired to New York with a large sum of money to purchase flour, as it was given out but really to embarrass the negotiations with the Creeks. He was closely watched and his efforts proved abortive.⁵

Secret articles of a Treaty of peace & friendship made & concluded on behalf of the United States of America on the one part & the Creek nation of Indians on the other part in the city of New York on this the seventh day of August one thousand seven hundred & ninty.

Art 1st. The commerce necessary for the Creek nation shall be carried on through the ports & by the citizens of the U. S. if substantial & effectual arrangements shall be made for that purpose by the United States on or before the first day of August one Thousand seven hundred & ninty two. In the mean time the said commerce may be carried on through its present channels & according to its present regulations.

And whereas the trade of the present Creek nation is now carried on wholly or principally through the Territories of Spain & obstructions thereto may happen by war or prohibition by the Spnaish government It is therefore agreed between the said parties, that in the event of any such obstructions happening, it shall be lawful for such persons as the President of the U. S. shall designate, to introduce into & transport through the territories of the United States to the country of the said Creek nation, any quantity of goods, wares & merchandise not exceeding in value, in any one year Sixty Thousand Dollars & that free from any duties or inpositions whatever, but subject to such regulations for guarding against abuse as the United States shall judge necessary, which privilege shall continue, as long as such obligations shall continue.

Article 2nd. The United States also agree to allow to each of the great medal chiefs hereinafter named, a commission, a great medal with proper ornaments & each one hundred dollars annually for themselves, & the other beloved men of their towns.

⁵See Willett's Narrative, pages from 98 to 113.

Respectively to wit:

Upper Creeks	{	The chiefs of the Oakfuskees, Tucka-
		batchies & the present Tallase King of
Lower Creeks	(the half way house
Semanoles	(the chiefs of the Cussetas & Cowetas
		chiefs of Miskasocky

Article 3rd. In order to effect a consolidation of the interests of the United States & the Creek nation it is hereby stipulated that Alexander McGillivry the beloved chief of the said nation shall also be constituted the agent of the United States in the said nation, with the rank of Brigadier General and the pay of one thousand two hundred dollars per annum on his taking the usual oaths required by law.

Article 4th. And the said Alexander McGillivry hereby stipulates to use his highest exertions to endeavor to cultivate the firmest friendship between the United States & the said Creek nation.

Article 5th. The United States agree to educate & clothe such of the Creek youth as shall be agreed upon, not exceeding four in number, at any one time.

Article 6th. Then the secret articles shall take effect & be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, with the advise & consent of the Senate of the United States.

In witness of all everything herein determined between the United States of the one part and Alexander McGillivry in behalf of himself & the Creek nation, the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year above written.

In behalf of the United States,
signed

H. KNOX, *Secretary of War &
sole commissioner for treating
with the Creek Nation.*

In behalf of the Creek Nation,
signed

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRY.

Done in presence of Richard Morris, chief justice of the State of New York

Richard Varick, Mayor of the city

Marinus Willett

Webb Allen Smith

Henry Izard.

Now know ye, that I having seen and considered the said secret articles of the said treaty do by & with the advise & consent of the senate of the United States, accept, ratify & confirm the same & every article & clause thereof. In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed & signed the same with my hand, given at the city of New York the thirteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety & in the fifteenth year of the sovereignty & independence of the United States.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By the President,
THOMAS, JEFFERSON.

By command of the President of
the United States of America,
H. KNOX,
Secretary for the department of
war—

Before the foregoing treaty was made Genl. McGillivry was in the Spanish interest with the rank of Colonel—and during this time the following interesting correspondence took place. (These papers were also among the disclosed bundle).

McGILLIVRY TO WM. PANTON

Little Tallasee 20th September 1788.

Dear Sir,

I have torn off this half sheet from an old letter to answer yours of the 2nd instant having a little leisure time on hand. I write it now to wait for an opportunity in case of my absence from home, which is often the case.

Note by Mr. Pickett: This interesting treaty, never before published, was among the papers of General McGillivry, which came into the possession of Wm. Panton, at the General's death. In 1825, a suit was brought in the court of Louisiana at New Orleans, by D. W. Johnson & others versus James Innerarity and others. The suit was to recover of Innerarity, the successor of Panton, Fabers & Co., a large amount of property for the Plaintiff denied from claims, purchased of the heirs of General Alexander McGillivry.

The plaintiffs Attornies—Messrs. Johnson, Hennon & others caused the papers of Genl. McGillivry to be disclosed & among them was exhibited the original treaty above copied, written on parchment, and a large portion of the right lower corner cut off by Genl. McGillivry perhaps for some purpose.

In March 1848, being in New Orleans, the Honorable Alfred Hennen kindly furnished me with a perusal of these papers.

The portion cut off probably contained some private memorandum between him & Washington, which McGillivry did not wish the world to see.

I had wrote you during the late hubbub at Pensacola by Frank Leslie. I give you then a sketch of my idea of the times, Cuvnel's & Walker's sudden flight ought not to surprise any one in Pensacola—the cowardice of Cuvnells is proverbial & Walker fled being my servant. I will explain to you the story as they told me. Upon Linderd & the others being taken up, a little Irishman living at Tensaw, was in town, he taking fright ran out to Walker & informed him that the governor in very severe terms threatened to seize him, understanding that he was recruiting men for my service, upon which says Cuvnells "I am his interpreter therefore my chance to escape is small." The idea of the minds operated so strongly upon their imaginations as caused them to fly up here. This custom of taking up Traders ignorant of the language, laws & customs of Spain upon frivolous reports, if persevered in will have effects of a most pernicious tendency. There was one Snell who is Lovet's man in the Cowetas, got home scared, is half a lunitic. Traders & Indians were all roused to alarm. I was obliged to send one express down to calm their minds, but I don't think the traders fears are yet quieted. In short my friend you are lucky that the American Stores upon the Atimaha are broke up by us, or else after paying you some part of their skins, the whole lower Semanoles & part of the upper towns would have gone for supplies. If our friends knew how very delicate it was to awaken the suspicions & fears of these people by harsh measures they would use none, no more. All the traders that have already gone to you, I was positively obliged to drive them down or you would not have seen one, for they would rather have gone to St. Marks or St. Johns. I hope all this is now subsided in Pensacola for I am ashamed & sorry for it. I can see no reason for all this bustle. If the Grand Turk or any power chooses to make me a present provided they are not at war with Spain they cannot reasonably be offended with me for accepting it. We are a free people & mean to continue so.

Hoping to answer your letter I could not refrain from stating the foregoing matters your letter of the 2nd runs in the same strain of advice, as your others, advising & exhorting me to be guarded in treating with the Americans & to reserve our trade wholly to Spain. Gov. Mero has instructed me to the same purpose & which I am fully resolved to do: that is if I have power to offer and insist upon any stipulations; so I have answered his Exelency: but I was apprehensive that our late royal orders (concerning our treaty with the Americans) now strictly operating would embarrass our affairs, if not altogether frustrate our intentions regarding trade, because if I comprehend the order right, it is that I must treat of peace, & measures which I have found fault with,

to enforce it. It must be of course allowed that every power to insist upon an article of that kind or indeed any other is wholly taken from me; for experience has proved that such matters are only to be attained by the longest fire and at point of sword, particular with the Americans. So as our affairs now stand I can't see a chance of our resisting any conditions which they may choose to dictate to us. And we all can foresee there will be no ways favourable to our present condition.

In the mean time I have thrown some obstacles in the way of the present treaty & have wrote to Gov. Mity & stated these matters pretty fully & in a strong point of view, which he mentions he has referred to the captain General Esplalatta at Havana & I may expect to hear of in two months. The letter is dated 28th August by a Nolen a gentell young Irishman who he sent to me to forward to Cunberland, with some propositions toward a commercial treaty.

The present interegnum in the American Government & the commissioner putting off the Treaty until the next spring, will give us all the time to look around us.

Whitefields letter will shew you the dispositions of the Georgians. The commissioners wanted the assembly to meet to co-operate in treaty of peace & the House would not assemble. The Georgians proclaimed a truce of arms with us on the 31st of July. A Coweta Indian gave me lately a wretched dirty & scarce legible scrawl, on foul paper, which he found on a tree, near Flint river it proved to be a "threatening talk to me & my savage subjects we shall have no establishment of peace until they shall have full satisfaction of all their desires &c" signed James Alexander 15th August. The chap that signs is Col. Alexander who murdered the Cussetas. He and Clarke sway upper Georgia. The impolicy of certain late measures in tying us up, is evident. If we could have followed up our blows, those fellows would have been ere this time effectually humbled but we have all our work to do over again.

I observe with much satisfaction that the Governor & Intendant of New Orleans have relinquished their claim of one fourth of the profits of your trade. Such a procedure is extremely generous & as for my part, I now repeat to you what I told you more than twelve months ago, when we were talking upon the subject of the trade. I then observed that my nation was much benefited by the honorable and liberal manner in which you supported them with goods, that as my attention being wholly engaged about the concerns of my people, it could not be in my power to be of any esential service to your business. Therefore I could not nor ought not to claim or hold a share of your

industry & risks, knowing as I did that without being embarrassed with my claims, your trade on the footing as it stood on, was scarcely a saving one, but rather a losing one. In the mean time I am thankful for the generous credit of necessaries which you offered me—And if I conclude a peace with the Americans which I expect to do, it will be in my power and ability to settle my accounts with you. Those gentry will probably restore me my property among them.

Our Indian news is in the old strain. The congress on the one hand pretends to hold out the write wing to all the southern nations; on the other the back settlers of North Carolina are overrunning the Cherokees, driving them into the woods, murdering women & children as if they wished to exterminate those poor wretches. A party of my warriors lately went into the Cherokees and collected some of them from their hiding places & attacked a body of the Franklin troops that were laying all waiste before them & completely rounted them—only three Americans escaped. This is the first check they ever got in that country & it has revived the dejected spirits of the Cherokees.

During our present suspence and half time I have a considerable part of the upper town warriors to go to the assistance of these poor devils, for a few more checks will be of great service to their affairs with the Americans. I have no paper to write the governor at this time. I have not another cover of a letter itself. I should be ashamed to write on such scraps, but you are used to shifts of this kind from we Indian country folks, therefore I can be free with you. I have instructed D. McG concerning the skins he carries down of the Wewocoe store. This specimen of the troubles of trade has sickened me of it.

Farewell, my Dear Sir, may every good attend you,

Yours very truly,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRY.

To William Panton,
Pensacola.

Little Tallase 10th Augt 1789

Dear Sir,

There being no pack horses going to Pensacola for a long time past I have had no opportunity to answer your last letters. The bearer on my promising him two kegs of Taffia has undertaken to carry these to you.

Galphin who I sent to the rock landing with a talk declining the Treaty of June last returned about a fortnight since & I find that they are resolved upon holding a treaty. In order to accommodate us they

the commissioners are complaisant enough to postpone it until the 15th of next month & one of them the late chief Justice Osburn remains all the time at the Rock Landing. Pickens returned for the Cherokee Treaty but in that I took measures to disappoint him, for those chiefs would not meet. In this do you not see my cause of triumph in bringing these conquerors of the old & masters of the new world as they called themselves, to bend & supplicate for peace at the feet of a people whom shortly before they despised and marked out for destruction.

The people being all at home and the grand ceremony of kindling the new fires being just over, I deem it the fittest time to meet these commissioners & have accordingly made the broken days of which nine are left to set out in. In conducting the business of the treaty I will as you observe confine it to the fixing our limits & the acknowledgement of the independency of my nation. This I deem very necessary as the Americans pretend to a territorial claim & sovereignty over us in virtue of the late peace. This being settled will in a great measure be doing away every cause of future quarrel between us. You will know how customary it is for, in all treaties held with indians to agree to a commercial one likewise it being absolutely necessary as it more firmly attaches them to friendship formed as without stipulations of that sort in a treaty of peace none will be lasting. However in this instance I will agree to none as you have a prospect of being enabled by the favor of government to supply this trade on as moderate terms as the Georgians can do. Here let me observe to you that in the affair of trade the Americans will push hard for it, and it will be for us the most difficult part of the negotiation. But I will risk the breaking off the conference before I will give into it on the whole if I find that the Commissioners insist upon stipulations that will in their operations, clash with those which we have already entered into with Spain I shall not hesitate to cut short the negotiations & support the connection which we have with Spain: it being more safe and respectable than the Republicans can make one. But at the same time I must insist upon an equal resolution in them our friends the Spaniards to afford us their decided support by every means in their power and not under any pretences to repeat the conduct of last summer, in the very moment of vigorous exertion to refuse a further aid insist and menace us to make a peace right or wrong with the Americans, which if we had done at the time we should have been drove into hostility with Spain before this day; & I repeat to you what I have frequently done to Gov. Miro that if we are obliged for want of support, to conclude an uncon-

ditional peace with the Americans, it will prove essentially hurtful to the king's interest.

The ammunition and arms given us by the King we have not yet been able to fetch away. It is a good store in hand to make ourselves firm in treating with the Americans. But I am miserably disappointed in the guns. These my people who have ever been accustomed to the best English guns find the greatest difficulty to use being entirely unfitted either for the purposes of hunting or war. They may say they have no other, but I pointed out where they were to be got and if our friends resolve to support us, they might do it with what was good.

A chief of the Coosawda, named Red Shoes is lately returned from New Orleans, very well satisfied with his reception & treatment there & has brought a very good talk with him & I am equally satisfied that the Western horison is again cleared up & looks fair and so it will always continue if the intention of adopting as good Spaniards, the restless American is entirely given up. I mean in our neighborhood between us and the Choctaws I have observed to Gov. Miro that the reasons he gave me for settling Americans on the west side of the Mississippi is founded in real political principals & I truly wish it was in the compass of our power to drive them all from the Ohio & Cumberland to seek the new asylum so being moved out of our way our warriour would never follow them there. The Coosawda chief Red Shoes being disgusted with Capt. Folk on Tombecbe resolved to go to Gov. Miro who satisfied him. Between you & I believe me that Folk is a madman. If he had spoke to an assembly of Creek chiefs as he did to the Alabamans & challenged them to war & shewed them his swivels &c he would have been directly taken at his word. He has been heard to declare that any person that would murder me should be protected in Spanish limits. I do not doubt his evil intention as he has already given a specimen of it, in hiring assassins to murder a poor fellow Lawrence in my sister's house. Such men in official stations do great injury to their country at one time or other, this has been proved.

My friend the governor is likewise possessed with the belief that all the damage done the settlers below is done by us, but it is wrong. The whole was a few horses and men taken, and my sister servant took back the most from the Coosadas. But at present the Choctaw is the favorite and all the outrages which they commit is carefully turned upon us by their partizans. It is notorious that the choctaws are discontented, and indians never fail to manifest it in either taking scalps or commit-

ting depredations, which last they do for it is common for them to kill horses & cattle &c on Tombecbe and this summer—even about Mobile. But all this is concealed from Gov. Miro by them & charged to us with falsehoods. Ben James who is so much confided in is privately an American Agent and has actually a commission which he received from Georgia to act with Davenport and I know could be supported with any necessities by the Americans, he could throw off the mask. He was even weak enough to address me for leave to open a trade with the State, which I refused him, as well as his application this summer to the American States. As a proof of my assertions respecting the choctaws Falk sent them a talk this summer menacing them with a stoppage of their trade until they made satisfaction. I am ever ready to make allowances for a momentary impression caused by false report, but it would be better that they were more guarded against & not made the ground of making difference which might produce a serious effect. The late menaces which were thrown out to me, created no great anxiety in my mind, because I could have directly opened the Eastern door where large magazines of goods &c have been stored for some time past, awaiting it to be opened. But for peace & quietness sake, hope there will be no occasion now for it as everything is fallen into a calm so let it remain & in all that I have done or said was solely to discover & shew the means to preserve it, I hope forever between us.

The Chickasaw nations are content (whatever Dio Mingo can say to the contrary) to put up with the loss of that chap's brother & son as having fallen in bad company. This will be a warning and convince them that this will not be permitted with impunity to act or encourage hostile designs against us in concert with any people.

Now let me touch a little upon my private affairs. I wish I could lay my hand on their last letters to send you and a very curious & to you not an uninteresting carolina newspaper just received, but they are both swallowed up in a multitude of papers—you know how it is with me in the paper way. The commissioners say it would give them great pleasure to have a private conversation previous to our entering on the business of the treaty as it would tend to make it go on agreeably & with more ease. I need not interpret this paragraph for you, when you already know that they have for some time past been endeavouring to stop my house & hands with my family estate which to your knowledge is more than 30,000 sterling. The offer of which is now I expect to be pressed upon me; and there has since I saw you last arose considerable conflict in my mind in revolving these matters over. Here am I absolute heavy tax upon you for several years & in fact not only for

my private support but for all extra expenses of this department & altho my Dear Sir, I know not that I can still depend upon your generosity & in your friendship that you overlook the heavy expense I put you to; yet you will know how hurtful it is to the feeling heart to be beholden to subsist wholly on the bounty of private friendship. Thus situated I ask, I wish you to give me your opinion—on the one hand I am offered a restoration of property of more than one hundred thousand dollars at the least valuation and on the other not wherewithall to pay an interpreter: & I find that letters is still addressed to me as agent for his catholic majesty. When I have some time ago renounced the pittances of a common interpreter that was allowed to me as being a consideration disgraceful to my station. If they want my services why is not a regular establishment made as was done by the English with a competent sallary affixed & allowance for two interpreters, one on the upper & one on the lower towns; for highest I have had to pay them myself or shall I have recourse to my American Estate to maintain them & myself? I wish you to advise me what I had best do.

Altho I have no solid ground to hope a complete adjustment of our dispute with the Americans I am resolved to go if it is only to wipe off the suggestion made to me by our friends that I was actuated by unjust motives & an unreasonable prejudice against the Americans as the ground of hostility against them, but if they on the other hand should find a body of people approaching their mines would they not say what business have you hear? Do not you know that these are grounds from which we draw the chief source of our conveniences & happiness and we canot suffer you to participate of or deprive us of them, and these encroachers should refuse to withdraw, would they not commence & support and inveterate hostility until they should expell them?

The fellow Romain who madam Vallier writes of was a great liar. He came here from the Choctaws with a quantity of silver ware and a few goods & wanted Nick White to join him in purchasing negroes to carry and sell to N. Orleans. After roving about for some time he had a difference with Milfort who threatened to send him in irons to New Orleans, which terrified him apparently & he went off to the chehaws & from there either to Lakes Detroit or the American states. A copy of this you can send to the * * * Miro, as I meant my former one. I have found the Carolina paper. There is nothing in it but the letter written by some American from Augustine to Alexandria in Virginia by which you will observe that our friends there finding

the Americans inquisitive, played off the Irish Brizado my representative on him and made merry no doubt with his credulity.

I am going about borrowing salt & sugar owing to that cursed Milfort's neglect and I have not a horse able to send. I expect our treaty will be over by the middle of September if we return safe, expect a visit early in October from

Dear Sir Yours most truly,

ALEX. MCGILLIVRY.

Pensacola 10th April 1794.

Lochlan McGillivry, Esq.,
Dunmaglass.

My Dear Sir,

It gives me pleasure to see a letter from you, because from what Mr. Strachan wrote me a long time since, I had reason to think that you had gone to that bourne from whence there is no returning. The paragraph of this letter was of 1772 & he mentioned: "We have several times wrote to old Mr. McGillivry without receiving any answer, we therefore conclude he is dead as he was very ill when we last wrote." I am extremely happy to find you are in the land of the living & I sincerely wish you may enjoy everything that is good in it for many years to come.

Your son, sir, was a man that I esteemed greatly & I was perfectly convinced that our regard for each other was mutual. It so happened that we had an interest in serving each other which first brought us together & the longer we became acquainted the stronger was our friendship.

I found him deserted by the Brittish without pay, without money, without friends, without property saving a very few negroes and he & his nation threatened with distruction by the Georgians unless they agreed to cede to them the latter part of their country. I had the good fortune to point out a mode to him by which I thought he could save both and it succeeded beyond expectation. For several years he had only a small pension from Spain of fifty dollars a month, during which time I had to support him in that style which was requisite to give him consequence with his countrymen. In the year 1791 & not before my representation to the court of Spain was attended to & his salary was increased to \$2000 per year. In the month of July 1792 an addition was made to it of \$1500—this he only lived to enjoy until the 17th February following when he died of complicated disorders of inflamed

lungs & the gout on his stomach. He was taken ill on the path coming from his cow pen at Little River where one of his wives Joe Cornell's daughter, resided & died eight days after his arrival. No pains, no attention, no cost was spared to save the life of my friend, but fate would have it otherwise & he breathed his last in my arms. With respect to his affairs he postponed making his will until too late to have it executed with all the formality which was requisite in an English court of Justice. What he did you will see by the enclosed Duplicate which would be sufficient here if the property was within this jurisdiction, but unfortunately for the children his effects were all in the nation, and his sisters Indian like have seized the whole and without paying any attention to his will or his poor orphans they have divided the property among them & shared the cattle and horses that were in the nation. He died possessed of sixty-six negroes, three hundred head of cattle with a large stock of horses. I got into my possession about 150 head of cattle and three of his best horses which is everything of his estate that has come into my hands saving a few months of his salary that was due at his death. He owed a good many small sums which for the sake of his memory I have satisfied. From the year 1787 he drew a share of the profits of this house, but at that time & some years after, the state of the skin trade was at so low an ebb that we scarcely saved ourselves. That matter is fairly on our books. On the 20th September 1788 he resigned his share very formally & so did other two great men who were connected in the House at first. I will look for his letter & send you a Duplicate. At his death his account in our Books stands Ballance against him 5824 Drs. 3 vls. without interest, he was bound for his sisters

Sophy.....	700 Drs.
Sehoy.....	1000 Drs.
His estate since	7s
his death	1531.07

Drs. vls.

9055. 3. From this view of things you will naturally conclude that your son was under obligations to me of a pretty high cost & so he himself thought & acknowledged in many of his letters to me. It is, however, but right not with standing this view of things, candidly to confess to you that the obligations after all preponderates in my mind in his favor I advised, I supported, I pushed him on to be the great man. Spaniards & Americans felt his weight and this enabled him to hawl me after him so as to establish this House with more solid privileges

than without him, I should have got this being the case if he had lived, I meant besides the ballance which he owed to have added considerably to his stock of negroes, already (as I have mentioned) upward of sixty & what I meant to do for the Father I shall most conscientiously do for his children. This however is a matter that rests on my own generosity & ought not to operate against your making that ample provision for your grand son & his two sisters that you have it in your power to make. They have lately lost their mother, so that they have no friends, poor things, in the world but you & me. My heart bleeds for them & what I can I will do. The boy Allick is old enough to be sent home to school which I mean to do next year & then you will see him. The girls are both too young to be moved at present they live with their mother's sister & I shall let them remain there until they are fit to be put to school when I will have them removed. The Boy would have gone home this year, but for the death of his mother. Just as he was about sitting out to bring him down to me. Your Daughter's conduct is unjust & cruel in the extreme but I impute a great part of the business to the villany of Durant & Weatherford who are their husbands. I am striving by fair means to bring them to reason & if that will not do, I must have recourse to others. You must excuse this hasty scrawl. I have a fluxion in my eyes that renders writing painful, otherwise I would have been more particular.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your most obt Sert

WM. PANTON.

P. S. I think if you were to write to Sophy and Jenny & Sehoi a letter desiring them to give up the negroes that they might be employed for the children, it would be of service—it is worth trying. They are all at present at variance & the negroes do nothing.

Brigadier General Arthur O'Neal governor civil & military of this place & its Jurisdiction, certify that the sixteenth of February of the year One Thousand seven hundred & ninty three, having represented to Alexander McGillivry Esq commissary of his catholic majesty in presence of Mr. William Panton William Lewis christian & Dr. Thomas Blair that he hought to make his will. I asked him who he wished to name for his Executor and he answered me with full understanding that it was his will to leave for his Executors Mr. William Panton & Mr. John Forbes & that his accounts with Mr. William Panton and others being settled he left all his property to his children and a little to his wife's. And the day following in presence of the above said

witnesses being asked in my presence by William Panton, if he would have me for one of his Executors, he answered no. And being asked by the said William Panton if he wished that the Trader Mr. McDaniel McGillivry should be one of his executors he only answered that he was a very honest man, and being asked again whom he wished for his heirs he answered that his children were to have the whole by equal parts without any preference of one to the other and a little to his wife's repeating that it should be but little. And as the said Alexander McGillivry died under these dispositions without having made any posterior ones, I sign the present with the said witnesses to serve where needful, In Pensacola the 17th day of May 1793.

Signed:

Arthur O'Neill
William Panton
Louis Christian
Thos. Blair.

On the 5th day of August 1810, Lizzy McGillivry & Margaret McGillivry, sole heirs and Daughters of Genl. Alexander McGillivry, in the presence of J. P. Kennedy, Samuel Manac & John Rawdon, conveyed away all their interest in the House of Panton, Leslie & Co., & John Forbes & Co. to D. W. Johnson of Savannah, Georgia & George Edwards of South Carolina for the sum of Eighteen Thousand Dollars.

This instrument was subscribed and sworn to before Benjamin Hawkins, Agent of the Creek nation.

John Forbes died in the year 1825 & James & John Innerarity became the surviving partners of the firm in Florida & Mobile.

EARLY HISTORY OF MADISON COUNTY

And, Incidentally of North Alabama

By THOMAS JONES TAYLOR

(The first three chapters of Judge Taylor's article were printed in the Spring Issue of the Alabama Historical Quarterly. Other chapters will appear in succeeding numbers.—EDITOR.)

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT BY PIONEERS—1805 TO 1809

The "great bend of the Tennessee" includes the counties of Madison, Jackson, Lauderdale and Limestone. The Tennessee River crosses the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude about ten miles northeast of Bridgeport and turns southwest, reaching its extreme southern point near Guntersville, at a point about forty-two miles due south of the Tennessee line, and then turning northwest again enters Tennessee at the northwest corner of the State some ten miles down the river from Eastport. The distance from the Huntsville Meridian along the Tennessee line to Mississippi is about ninety miles, and from the meridian westward to the river is about fifty miles, and from the river to the Georgia line, at the corner of Jackson and DeKalb Counties, ten miles. The great bend on the Tennessee line is one hundred and forty miles wide from entrance to exit of the river and its greatest extent southward is forty-two miles. Madison and Limestone counties occupy the middle portion of this territory, extending from the river to the State line.

The early settlers of North Alabama were men who had fought the Indians in Western Georgia and Middle Tennessee, and were inured to the danger, privation and suffering of pioneer life, but when they came to Alabama they found a land of peace. Though nearly surrounded by savage tribes, yet there was never any war or disturbance in Madison County. While there are vestiges showing the occupation of the county centuries ago by a people probably coeval with the mound-builders of the Mississippi and Ohio, yet the testimony of the first explorers of this region proves that, with the exception of settlements on the Tennessee river, Madison County when occupied by the whites was not inhabited by the Indians. Though the line of the hunting grounds of two powerful Indian tribes ran through the county, yet neither history nor tradition shows that any battle was ever fought on this territory. The white

settlers that came here in 1805-6 were never molested by the Indians, except sometimes they drove off horses they found in the canebrakes, and I have heard Mr. Isaac Criner say that in 1806 the Indians carried off the horses belonging to him and his brother, and they made a journey through the wilderness to Gunter's village, now Guntersville, and their property was found and restored to them.

The Chickasaw cession extended the dominion of the whites from the Tennessee settlements on Duck river to the Tennessee river, but southwest and east of the old county lay the Indian territory. South of the mountains were the Creeks—always hostile and troublesome; but it was the middle and southern portions of the State that suffered from their encroachments. In the Indian war, instigated by Tecumseh and his prophet brother, considerable apprehension was felt that proved groundless, as our near neighbors, the Chickasaws and Cherokees who did not remain neutral, took part with the whites. The early settlers say that the county was an Indian hunting ground, that the Indians visited it in autumn and returned laden with game to their settlements on the Tennessee as winter set in. Their narrow trails could be plainly traced from the upper valleys of Flint and Hurricane to the Tennessee, and when the hunting season arrived they could see the smoke from their camp fires rising down the valleys, and to the present time their camping ground can be located by the stone arrow-heads and hatchets scattered over the fields.

The pioneers who first settled the county originally came from North Carolina and Virginia, and moved along the borders of civilization into Western Georgia and Middle Tennessee, and when they finally crossed the Tennessee line into the great bend of the Tennessee in North Alabama, they were enthusiastic in their praises of the beauty and fertility of the country; and those who were attracted to it by the glowing account of its wonders said the half had not been told them. We of today appreciate the beauty of our mountains and valleys, our clear and sparkling streams and the magnificence of our primeval forests, but we can form but a faint conception of this region before its beauties were marred by the encroachment of civilization. Our forests have been so despoiled and disfigured that we seldom see anything that gives us an idea of their splendor at the time when they were unbroken, from the Tennessee line to the great river. In the cool and secluded valleys along the county line mountain ridge we see the forests in their

native splendor, and can imagine the appearance of our mountains and valleys when covered by those giants of the woods. Our ancestors believed it to be the finest region ever trodden by the foot of man, and, judging from what we know of the county today, we can understand and appreciate their love and admiration of the land where many of them were content to cease their wandering, in the belief that they had at last reached their land of promise. Though considerable allowance is generally made for old settlers' and hunters' stories, yet to those who have studied the topography of the Tennessee valley and have calculated the wear and tear of seventy years' occupation and tillage, their accounts of the wonderful beauty and fertility of the country will not appear exaggerated. The early settlers said there was a great quantity of fish and game. Our water courses, clear as crystal, teemed with trout, bream, red-horse and salmon. Great droves of stately, bronze-breasted turkeys roamed in the forests; vast flocks of pigeons, feeding on the abundant mast, darkened the air, and the trees were alive with gray and red squirrels; deer were abundant on our mountains, bears inhabited the canebrakes in the river bottoms; wild gees and wild ducks of a dozen varieties haunted our streams and ponds during the winter season. The lands, once cleared and fenced, with little labor yielded a generous support to man and beast. The winters were so mild and forest food so abundant that cattle and hogs required but little care and multiplied rapidly. The air was salubrious and the country healthy, water was abundant and pure. Like most well timbered regions the seasons were regular. Drought nor blight never visited the crops, and at the beginning of each successive season the farmers felt reasonably certain of an abundant harvest, because experience had taught them that a good crop could be safely calculated upon.

From the year 1805 to 1809 the settlers as a general rule were men of moderate means, who came here to win a home and shelter for their families, where the lands were cheap and the soil fertile, and up to 1809, when the public lands were surveyed and offered for sale, they were what has since been known as squatters on the public lands. When the public lands were surveyed, many of these pioneers were able to purchase their homes, and before the close of 1809 the ancestors of a large number of the best of our citizens were permanently settled on lands now occupied by their descendants. The pioneer period of the history of the county extends from 1805 to 1810, just five years, and in the chapter on survey and sale

of the public lands the records will enable me to give the names and location of many of the early settlers.

Up to the close of the year 1809 a population of nearly five thousand was in the old county limits, but with few exceptions the population was of the pioneer type, generally a poor and honest race, simple in their manners, living peacefully, without government or laws. But the stories of the beauty and fertility of the county began to attract a more cultured and wealthy population from the old States who developed the luxury and refinement of their former homes. The tide of emigration flowed steadily in this direction. Slaves were brought here in considerable numbers, the lands were opened for cultivation, good houses were erected, money became plentiful, and with its accompanying wants and luxuries. The simple pioneer either accumulated property and was transformed into the wealthy and progressive citizen, or became disgusted with the smoke of his neighbor's chimney and moved westward in the front of civilization. It is to be regretted that the chronicles of pioneer life within our borders are so meager, and that we know so little of the habits and characters of our ancestors. Many of them had led lives full of adventure and peril; first fighting in the Revolutionary War, then battling with the savages on the frontiers, and finally resting free from toil and danger in the peaceful valley of the Tennessee.

The children of half a century ago have probably heard their ancestors relate their thrilling stories of frontier life, the march across the mountains into Tennessee, their daily conflicts with a subtle, savage and merciless foe, the tilling of their fields with guns in easy reach, the warning of danger, the retreat to their block houses, and the defeat and driving away of their besiegers. Sometimes aroused at the dead hour of night by the light of burning cabins, they would hasten to the rescue and find the mutilated bodies of kindred and friends, and then came the rapid pursuit of the wary foe, the surprise, the rescue of the captives and slaughter of the savage plunderers and murderers. It was a fitting recompense for their toils to have reached at last this haven of peace and looked upon it in its primeval beauty, to have owned and occupied it in a contented old age, and to have left the wilderness, which they had made to blossom as the rose, a heritage to their children and their children's children forever.

CHAPTER V.

PIONEER LIFE

Before taking up the survey and settlement of the county in the year 1809, I propose to notice briefly the life of the settlers previous to that period. Living as we do in an age abounding in the comforts and conveniences of modern civilization, it is difficult to form an adequate conception of the privations and hardship encountered by our fathers who colonized Madison County. When we consider how much of their time was occupied in obtaining many of the absolute necessities of life, we cannot but wonder how they accomplished the work of clearing the lands and improving them. From the year 1805 to 1809 cultivation of cotton had but just commenced; there was but little money in circulation and transportation of supplies of all kinds laborious and difficult, and the relation of their difficulties in obtaining articles of common use and necessity would form a long and interesting article.

In settling a new country it readily occurs to us that bread and salt, powder and lead and clothing of some kind would be indispensable. During the first year, when far from other white and Indian settlements, they had to bring corn and salt on pack horses through the wilderness. The first settlers near Winchester went to the mill near Shelbyville for bread the first year, and the first settlers in Madison County had no mills nearer than the neighborhood of Winchester. In those days this involved a tedious journey, and frequently the settlers would be without bread or salt for many days—subsisting on jerked venison. But they made it an object the first year to plant and cultivate a corn patch and raise corn for bread. But there were no mills convenient for the first two or three years, and each well regulated family constructed a hominy mortar by burning or digging out a large bowl in the end of a large stick of hard tough timber, in which they pounded their corn by the use of a large pestle worked by a sweep, and many families inconvenient to mills subsisted for many years on bread pounded in these mortars. Clean wood ashes were easily procured, and after they raised a corn crop lye-hominy was a favorite substitute for bread, to the excellence of which as an article of food many of the present generation will give willing testimony. Bread from wheat flour was seldom seen, as the roads to Tennessee and Virginia were not yet opened. For many years little or no wheat was raised in the country, and when the county had largely increased in population flour was brought down the Tennessee River in considerable quantity, and Ditto's

Landing was the rendezvous for the flat boats that supplied the county, and a flour inspector was appointed at port of entry to inspect, grade and stamp the flour offered for sale. Parched corn was the portable food of the explorer and hunter, on which, with the game found in the forest, they were content to subsist, on their hunting and exploring excursions. Of meat, they had great abundance and a variety of fish, flesh or fowl, but were frequently troubled about salt, which first was brought from Nashville on pack horses, then from Virginia in wagons, and finally down the Tennessee on flat boats thence over the county in wagons. After boats were used in carrying cotton down Paint Rock and Flint Rivers salt was frequently brought back, though it was hard work propelling the loaded boats against the current.

Iron was scarce and dear, and many of the first houses built did not have a particle of iron used in their construction. The doors swung on wooden hinges and were fastened, if fastened at all, with wooden locks. The floors of the rooms were dirt or made of puncheons; the boards were laid on the roof and held fast by weight poles laid on each course, the lowest pole pegged down and the others separated and kept in position by timber pieces between them. They dug their bread trays and turned bowls and table ware out of the buckeye, basswood and other soft timber, but some more pretentious made a display of pewter table service. China and delf ware was not in use, and the neat housewives scoured their pewter plates until they shone like silver and set them edge wise on shelves across which a slat was pegged against which they leaned, where, when tastefully arranged, they made quite a showy display. The tinkers, a profession now obsolete, traveled from house to house, repaired and mended the family pewter and received in payment a little money and a great deal of barter in the way of family supplies. At first they depended on game for a supply of meat which was shot or trapped, and in every family were two or three good steel traps. In hunting the old fashioned long rifle with flintlock was the universal weapon, shot guns or shot were not in use, and as lead was essential they never wasted it and generally managed to keep a supply. Powder was also scarce and dear, but the settlers, when they could not buy it, were equal to the emergency. Sulphur was easily procured and they constructed hoppers in the mountain caves and made saltpetre. They burned willow for charcoal and made gun-powder. Though it may not have been as good and reliable as that made at the present time, yet it answered their purpose. These men were very expert in the use of the rifle, and it was not considered an extraordinary feat to bring down a deer at full speed at a distance of seventy-five or eighty yards.

And these same men, without discipline or military experience, drove back with immense slaughter at New Orleans the veterans fresh from their victories over the French in Spain and Portugal.

When our forefathers located in this county they depended largely on dressed buckskin for clothing. From it they made covering for their beds, garments of every description, moccasins, sacks and hunting pouches, and it was cut into thongs for sewing purposes and twisted into ropes. Many of the families had their little flax wheels—now so seldom seen—and sowed flax that grew finely, and made cloth from it of excellent quality, and we occasionally see now table and bed linen of fine texture and snowy whiteness made by these women seventy years ago. Cotton was soon introduced, patches were planted for spinning purposes and the old spinning wheel and cards, the loom and winding blades and reel were soon after common in every settler's house. As there were no gins to clean the cotton, the family in the long winter evenings would pile it before the fire and all hands would clean it of the seed by picking them out with their fingers, and in this way they would prepare enough of the snowy fabric for a year's supply for the wheels and looms of the family. Suspended from pegs inserted in the walls of the room were usually to be seen great festoons or bunches of "hanks" of home spun thread ready for warping, bars and loom, and the cloth made from this material was heavy in body and almost impervious to the assault of the bushes and brambles with which the wearers came in daily contact. From the bark of various forest trees and by the use of coperas and indigo and madder this cloth was dyed in a variety of colors. Calico was almost unknown and was worth fifty cents a yard, so common folks did not wear it, but the young ladies wore home spun dresses and buckskin moccasins, and it is currently reported that they looked as charming and attractive in their plain and homely garb as their lovely descendants of the present day in their elegant silk and satin costumes.

House furniture was of the rudest character. Shelves were used for presses and cupboards, their dining tables were made of puncheons, their cabins were without glass in the windows, their cooking utensils were few in number; tallow and rosin and beeswax furnished them light. First they used bear's grease in their lamps which were home made, but when cattle became common they had moulded or dipped tallow candles with a cotton wick. In summer they retired early and seldom used a light except in sickness. In some places they would construct a cotton wick fifteen or twenty feet long, dip it in beeswax and rosin, wind it around a corn cob and draw the wick through the aperture made

by burning out the pith of the cob and pull it up as it burned, making a taper that lasted for a long time. In these primitive times houses were generally small and families generally large, and they generally managed to extemporize bed-room when it was time to retire by the use of curtains of buckskin. The little children were stowed promiscuously about on pallets on the floor, while the larger boys would go up a step-ladder and sleep in the loft. But the boys of that day loved the open air and were not very particular about a roosting place. They would sleep on a scaffold under the trees in the yard, or in the stable loft, and frequently would go off on a night hunt and after the sport was over would build a fire and sleep in the woods.

Such was the lives of our ancestors, apparently full of privations and hardships, yet they were a cheerful and contented race and managed to devote considerable time to sports and amusements that generally tended to develop their physical nature, and many of them lived to see a wondrous change in the manners, habits and modes of living of themselves and their neighbors.

CHAPTER VI.

SURVEY AND SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS IN 1809

In the year 1807 the general surveyor for Mississippi Territory was authorized to contract for the survey of public lands in his jurisdiction to which the Indian title had been extinguished. A small portion of the State in the county of Washington, including the old town of St. Stephens, had already been surveyed and offered for sale, but Madison County was the first land surveyed in North Alabama. The survey of old Madison was reported to the Land Office in the month of May, 1809, and the lands were offered for sale in August of the same year. The first work done was the survey of Huntsville meridian from the State line to Tennessee River. With the exception of the lands in range two east, surveyed by Pharaoh Roach, the old county was surveyed by Thomas Freeman, of Nashville, Tenn., and considering that he used the ordinary vernier compass, his work was well performed. The point of beginning was where the rude trail from the Tennessee settlements on Elk River crossed into Alabama, and the basis meridian crossed the mountain spurs only in two places, one five miles north of Huntsville and the other eight miles south. There was a small settlement along this line of old Hazel Green, Meridianville and Huntsville. There was a considerable settlement on Flint River, extending from the Three Forks down to old Brownsboro, and there were many settlers in the

Hickory Flat Region from the State line down to New Market. Of the four or five thousand people in the county, not a man had a title to a foot of land and many of them had been anxiously awaiting an opportunity to secure the homes they had located in the new country. To give the names and locations of these old pioneers will be the subject of a future chapter. I have been strongly impressed, in the work of obtaining the annals of these pioneers, with the number of the forefathers of the present citizens of the county who came here at an early date, and whose families down to the present generation have remained on the same lands purchased by their fathers from the year 1809 to 1812. But the names are so numerous that to give a full list of these early settlers and their location would exceed the limit of these sketches, and I propose to confine myself to the first year of the land sales. Many eminent men who figured prominently in our State history came here some years later and will be mentioned in the biographical portions of this history. Many of these early settlers had come here previous to the year 1809; while others came from Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia and other States in 1809, purchased lands and brought their families to the new territory.

The great bend of the Tennessee had a wide reputation in the older States, and the lands of old Madison being the first offered for sale were eagerly sought for and rapidly taken up and occupied by a class of settlers who were in intellect, enterprise and energy the peers of any on the continent. While a large number of them were content to settle permanently in the county others sought new fields of enterprise, and as other parts of the State were surveyed and offered for sale pushed southward or sent their children to seek their fortunes in newer portions of the State. And these young men, worthy representatives of their ancestors, furnished all portions of the State with material from which were developed many of its most distinguished representatives in its legislative halls, in the pulpit and the forum.

I have stated that all the lands owned in the county were purchased from the government, and I will now state the manner in which the lands were bought and the government deed or land patent obtained. Most of us have seen these old parchments among our grandfathers' papers or stowed away in the Land Office ornamented by the United States seal and bearing the names of the old Presidents from Madison down to Andrew Jackson. The older of these patents generally certified that a certain person therein named had paid for a quarter or half section of land to which the United States gave a fee simple title. When the lands were sold the purchaser who could pay cash got eight

per cent discount on deferred payments, but they could be purchased by paying down three dollars for each quarter section and five dollars for each section, one fourth in sixty days and the balance in one, two and three years with interest at six per cent, and an additional year was allowed them to complete the payment of the purchase money. At the end of the year of grace if the land was not paid for it was forfeited to the government, and the purchaser lost the money already paid. Two dollars was the minimum price, and the cash purchaser at this rate got his land at about one dollar and seventy-five cents per acre, while those who purchased on credit paid about two dollars and twenty cents. While many tracts brought a much larger price, yet the larger portion of the lands at the sales in 1809 were sold at the rate of two dollars per acre, and large tracts were sold to speculators at this rate. A considerable number of the purchasers were not able to make the payments, and either relinquished their lands or made terms with capitalists and assigned their claims, retaining a portion equalling in value the money they paid on their purchases. The Land Office was at Nashville, Tenn., with Gen. John Brahan register, and the settlers had to make a journey to that place to buy the land, and as the journey had to be made on horseback traveling was lively, and inn-keepers along the line of travel drove a thriving trade, and a well defined highway was soon made from Nashville to Tennessee River. This road ran through this county near its present location, and as it passed through an exceptionally good region of country the lands were soon taken up on each side of this road, and there was at the beginning of 1810 a chain of settlers from Barren Fork of Flint River nearly down to the river at Whitesburg. Out west of Huntsville there were but few settlements, but east towards the Cherokee line out to the boundary and down the old Cherokee trail, now known as the Deposit road, between the waters of Flint and Hurricane from near the State line to Brownsboro was the most thickly populated portion of the county, as the pioneers had been moving south from the neighborhood of Winchester from the year 1805. This settlement was connected with the Huntsville and Meridianville colonies by a line of settlers both sides of the Winchester road from Connally to the Three Forks of Flint and along the old Bellefonte road from Brownsboro to the McMahan place, and the mountain separated them from the settlements in Powers Cove, which was nearly all taken up in the year 1809. Across the mountain and about the Big Cove and Cobb's Ford, old David Cobb, at Cobb's Ford, and John Grayson, on the present James Grayson place, were the only persons who, in the year 1809, located land east of the mountains.

The year 1809 was, in many respects, a remarkable era in the history of the county. Besides the survey and sale of the public lands during that year and the location of many citizens who for over a quarter of a century were prominent in our State and national assemblies, by an act of the territorial legislature the laws of Mississippi Territory were extended over the new county, and from that year we date the establishment of organic law. Though our people were peaceable and orderly, yet up to that time there was no recognized government, and the different settlements had taken measures sanctioned by the people for their protection against lawless and unprincipled men who are always found in new countries. For the enforcement of law there was in every community an organization known as "Captain Slicks" company (I have been unable to ascertain where the name originated) who were the conservators of the peace. Whenever a man became notorious as a counterfeiter or a horse thief he received a notice signed by "Captain Slick" to leave the country in a certain number of days, which order was usually promptly obeyed, because he knew from experience that if found in the territory after the time stipulated he would first receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back well laid on, and in case he still proved refractory that he would probably have both ears cropped and a brand applied to his cheek or the palm of his hand.

The settlers by the rigid enforcement of their back-woods criminal code had been able to afford adequate protection to person and property, but were naturally desirous to turn over this unpleasant responsibility to regular officers of the law, and the extension of the Territorial laws into the county was not only gratifying to the people, but also afforded an additional inducement to emigration from other States where regular law was in force. At this time the Governor appointed nearly all officers, and under this act justices of the peace and constables were appointed for the county, also five justices of the quorum, an office now represented by the county commissioners, clerks of the superior and county court, a sheriff, recorder, treasurer and revenue officers, and all of our courts were regularly organized in the year 1810. The history of the organization and development of our courts of law is very interesting and will probably form the material for several chapters of this history.

While from the first settlement in 1805 to 1809 there was but little written about the county and its history is taken from oral traditions handed down from generation to generation, yet from the latter date we have a copious source of information from the county records,

and from that time the main difficulty is in making a judicious selection of a great variety of material presented. From the year 1809 we deal with facts attested by written evidence, and generally of matters of local interest to our people. I have in my preceding articles traced the progress of the county up to the purchase of its lands and the organization of the county under the territorial laws, and I propose in my next article to take up its history as a county regularly organized and governed by municipal law.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLERS IN THE YEAR 1809.

The emigration to the county to 1809, and for some time afterward, came in from the direction of Winchester, crossed into the county, near its northeast corner, and followed the Cherokee line down Flint River to Brownsboro. The fine water power at Flint bridge attracted many settlers, and Bennett Wood entered the lands from the Three Forks down to the Bell Factory, with the intention of erecting a mill thereon. Though John Hunt had made his way from the New Market country through the wilderness to Huntsville Spring, and many had followed the path marked out, yet the larger settlement was along the general line of travel, by way of New Market, to Flint bridge, and thence down the old Deposit road to the Brownsboro neighborhood. The emigration was not diffused from Huntsville, to other settlements. Huntsville was reached by two lateral lines of travel, one diverging at Flint bridge, and the other from Brownsboro. North of Connally's to the Tennessee line was in the wilderness, when the old Winchester road was opened and generally traveled, and settlements frequent on both sides. The strong tide of emigration down the Meridian road commenced at the land sales in 1809, when the citizens of Williamson, Bedford, and Maury Counties made purchases in the new territory, and sought a direct route to their new homes via Fayetteville, which resulted in establishing that route as the road from the new county to Nashville. The land office remained in Nashville until 1811, and this, carrying many of our people thither from Huntsville laid the foundation of the close business relations between the two places, which today remain unbroken. But the important highway at this time was the "Natchez Trace," afterwards known as the military road (an error); it is known in this county as the Limestone road, and the right of way had been conceded by the Chickasaw and Choctaw Tribes, in 1805, when the Capital of Mississippi Territory was at Natchez. It was the

National road from the Tennessee to the lower Mississippi Colonies, and the troops from Tennessee and Alabama traveled it when they went to the defense of New Orleans. Crossing the basis meridian at old Hazel Green, that place, at an early day became the site of a flourishing settlement. In the year 1809, Wallace Estill entered the quarter section of land where Cumming's Mill now stands, and soon afterwards built the first mill at that place. From Estill's down to the Limestone road, Samuel Allen entered the land on both sides of the road, extending eastward across Barren Fork, taking up about two thousand acres of the best land in that fertile region. Charles Cabaness located at the Power's Spring, now Underwood's, but, he also, with other purchasers, entered the old Tate place, went above Hazell Green, and built the first cotton factory in the county, on Barren Fork, in section eight. Near the Limestone road, eastward, Stephen Griffith entered the Sulphur Spring and Nathaniel Power the Superior Goodner place, and in the same neighborhood, Reuben Ellis and Daniel Childress located. Hezekiah Ford entered the land near the Junction of Mountain Fork and Barren Fork, and built a cotton factory at an early date. Thomas Freeman entered the Sledge Farm, and across Hester's Creek were James Walker, at the Spragins place, Samuel Davis, at the old Word place, and Elijah Franklin, on the lands now occupied by Wilson Reeves and Joseph Mason. There was a line of settlers along the Limestone Road from Old Hazel Green, east to the Winchester Road, and the settlements along that road extended from New Market southward. At and near New Market were Garland Miller and Wm. Stidman, west of the main street, and George Smith, east of it, with Laban Rice on John P. Whitman's place, and Jacob Broyles, near where W. N. Davis now resides, and Hezekiah Bayless, at John A. Fanning's. Bennett Wood, Wm. Haughton and Charles Kennedy occupied the lands from Flint Bridge to the Bell Factory. James Douglass entered J. M. Jones' place, and the Wilsons, the Farriss and Jourdon places. Stephen Kennemore entered the Geron place to the Jordon line, and on the John Rigney place was James Hamilton, who commanded a company in the War of 1812. Levi Hines entered the old Rigney place, still owned by his descendants. John Derrick and Ebenezer Bryan entered the land at Maysville, Charles McCarrey, where Brownsboro depot now stands, Jehu Lawler, and George Taylor, located near the bridge on the Bellefonte Road, and John Lamberson, Alfred and Solomon Massengale, John and Nathaniel Moon and Sam Wilson and John W. Hewlett, west of the river, from Brownsboro, and Levi Bryan,¹ the

(¹) Mss. indicates name was Byram.

southern limit, on Allen Sanford's place. Coming south from the Limestone Road, along the old Hazel Green Deposit route, Thomas McCrary, John Wright, Charles Sullivan and James Christian located, and Jacob Pruitt entered a large body of land, reaching from Moore's Mills, nearly to Meridianville. From Flint Bridge, towards Huntsville, Wm. Moore, Nathan Strong, James Roper, Matthew Weaver and John R. B. Eldridge lived. Down the Meridian Road, the land was taken up in large bodies. Robert Thompson and Thomas Bibb entered nearly all the land in sections west of the road, from Briar Fork to Meridianville, and James Manning and B. S. Pope, south to the Strong Homestead, and on the east of the road was John Lowry and John and William Watkins. Out along the line of the western road from Pope's, J. T. Powell, Richard Harris, and Rowland, Cornelius and others settled. From Strongs to Huntsville, John Connally, David Humphrey, Peyton Cox, John W. Walker, Charles Cabaness and Hugh McVay entered. Out towards Russell Hill, George Delworth, Edward Ward, and John Allison located lands; and east of Huntsville, in Power's Cove, Charles Cabaness, Moses Vincent and Allen Christian lived. Parrot Steger entered B. F. Wiley's place, Frank Harris, Henry Harris and William Rountree. McMahan's and Moore's plantations, and John, William and Jacob Derrick entered large bodies of land, scattered along from R. J. Kelly's to Hurricane Bridge on Belle Fonte Road. South and west of Huntsville, many purchases were made in 1809, by ancestors of our present people, among whom were Dr. David Moore, Andrew and Jacob Sibley, Joseph and Samuel Acklen, Robert Lanford, John Withers, William Lanier, Archie McDonnell, Daniel Carmichael, James and Andrew Drake, Presley McLemore, John and William Blevins, William Simpson, Wm. Robertson, Henry Haynes, and the Turners, many of whom are still remembered, and their old homesteads known. Large bodies of land were entered for speculation, and Petersburg, Georgia, is remarkable for having been the former residence of a large number of the heaviest purchasers of public land. James Manning, Robert Thompson, LeRoy Pope, John W. Walker, Thomas Bibb and William Bibb, and Peyton Cox, were all from that town, and probably purchased nearly one half of the lands sold in the year 1809, and all were for a long period of time prominent men in the county. Of other heavy purchasers Charles Kennedy was from Pendleton District, South Carolina; Benett Wood, from Williamson County, Tenn.; Charles Cabaniss, from Lunenburg County, Virginia; Samuel Allen and Jacob Pruitt and William Robertson were living in the county before the land sales. David Cobb, at Cobb's Ford, and John Grayson

were the only settlers in the Big Cove, who purchased lands in the year 1809; but the Wrights, Brazletons, DeBows and Childresses, and Peeveys were living in the county before that date. The settlement of the southwestern portion of the county, west of the Chickasaw line in 1818, and of New Madison, east of the Cherokee line, in 1830, will be taken up in their regular order of time. During the year 1810, there was but little land located in the county. Among the familiar names who entered lands in 1810 were Joseph Burrus and James Copeland, who entered the Shelby and Davie plantations, on Copeland's Creek, and also Robert and William Hancock, Nathaniel Wyche, John Seay, Ransom Fowlkes, Wm. Perry, James Poor, and Robert Walton. John Bayless entered the Sanford-Bayless homestead, on Flint River, and Fleming Jordan, the Russell J. Kelly homestead. Thomas Brandon and Nicholas Reedy entered Henry Motz's farm, and John Baker, the Holding brick house tract, below McDonald's, on Baker's Creek. In this year J. H. Posey, C. C. Clay and Gabriel Moore made their first purchases of land in Madison County; Gabriel Moore locating the old Moore homestead, west of the brick school house, Judge Posey, north of Huntsville, and C. C. Clay, a quarter section of land south of Andrew Drake's, in Drake's Cove. Another act of the Territorial Legislature, dated Dec. 23, 1809, appropriately closes the chapter of events for that year. It is in substance as follows:

"That William Dickson, Edward Ward, Louis Winston, Alexander Gilbreath, and Peter Perkins, of Madison County, be appointed Commissioners for the purpose of fixing on the most convenient place for establishing the public buildings in the said county and they or a majority of them shall have power to procure by purchase, or otherwise, not less than thirty, nor more than one hundred acres of land, at the most convenient and suitable place, for the erection of the public buildings aforesaid, which tract of land, when obtained, by purchase or otherwise, shall be laid out in half-acre lots, by the Commissioners aforesaid, reserving three acres upon which the public buildings shall be erected and be sold at public auction on twelve months credit, and the money arising therefrom, (after paying for the land aforesaid, if the same shall be purchased), shall be applied by said Commissioners towards defraying the expenses of erecting the public buildings of said county."

Section 2 says, "That the town so laid out shall be called and known by the name of Twickenham, etc., etc."

How and when this thirty acres of land was selected, and is now part of Huntsville, and how the three acres to be reserved, is now *Court House Square*; and more important, still, how we escaped the

awful fate of being known to the world as *Twickenham*, and were finally christened Huntsville, after the town's grandfather, John Hunt, (LeRoy Pope is recognized as its father), we will narrate to the best of our ability in our next article.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOUNDING OF HUNTSVILLE

The geographical center of old Madison was nearer Meridianville than Huntsville, and the location of the town is due to the Big Spring. Though the Indians were not settled in this vicinity, yet the existence of this remarkable spring was well known over the Indian country before the white people settled the country. The Yazoo land companies knew its locality and some of their agents may have visited it. John Hunt had doubtless learned its location and came from East Tennessee with the express purpose of finding the way to it from the Winchester country, and settling near it. I have not learned whether the Acklens came with his family here or not but it is said that many settlers came here in the year following, among whom were Stephen Neal, Wm. McBroom, Wm. Winston and the Harrisons. Martin Beatty had purchased one thousand acres of land from the Tennessee Land Company, including the spring, but he had relinquished his title by compromise with the United States, and entered other lands at the land sales in 1809. There was sharp competition for the spring quarter section at the land sales and Leroy Pope had to pay over \$23 per acre for the prize, being about four times as much as was paid for any other land in the county, the adjoining quarter sections bringing two to four dollars per acre. There were in 1809 some two or three hundred inhabitants scattered promiscuously over the present city limits. Leroy Pope bought the land with the intention of locating the county site here, and the Territorial Legislature by the enactment of December, 1809, in which five Commissioners who lived in or about the Big Spring were appointed, virtually located the county site at Huntsville. It is probable that some of the parties were in the Legislature¹ and that Leroy Pope suggested the name of *Twickenham*, that being the name of the home of Alexander Pope, the English poet, which LeRoy wished to perpetuate in the city he founded. The original city was laid out early in the year 1810, and its plan was probably agreed on between Pope and the Commissioners, who followed the enactment in laying it

(¹) Mississippi Territory.

out in half acre lots. The town was laid out in two-acre blocks with four half acres in each block, and contained an area of about sixty acres. It was fortunate for the town that Leroy Pope was a wise and liberal man, as to the generous donation of ground for our broad streets the city owes the beauty and regularity for which it is justly celebrated. The spring bluff determined the angle of the streets which are thirty-four degrees from the true meridian, this being the angle that would leave the spring in a square with least encroachment on suitable building lots adjoining. The first survey of the town was probably the work of John W. Leake, as there are occasional references made to surveys made by him about this time, and he appears to have been surveyor for this part of the county until Hunter Peel came here in the year 1816. The original plan of the town for some reason was not recorded and is now extant, and the plot of the town erroneously considered the original plan was drawn by Hunter Peel by order of the trustees in the year 1821. The old town was bounded North by Holmes Street, East by Lincoln, South by Williams, and West by Henry and Gallatin Streets, and contained twenty squares, that is five squares long and four wide. The spring and court house squares were not numbered, so there were seventy-two half-acre lots in the town. The lots were numbered from the northwest corner of the town at the corner of Holmes and Gallatin, and ran east, and when No. 8 was reached at the corner of Holmes and Lincoln No. 9 was located on the west side under No. 1, and the numbers ran east, and on the same plan for all other lots. The Public Square was bounded North by lots No. 27 and 28, on the East by lots No. 33 and 37, on the South by No. 44 and 43, and on the West by Spring Square. After the town was laid out the Commissioners purchased thirty acres, more or less, of the ground from Leroy Pope, for which they paid him the nominal price of seventy-five dollars, but for some unexplained reason the deed was not recorded until the year 1815. The commissioners selected the South half of the town, the dividing line beginning at the center of the Calhoun Block and running through the middle of Calhoun, Holding and Court House blocks westward to the center of the East boundary of the Spring Square, thence southwardly to Southside of Fountain Row, thence westwardly leaving Fountain Row on Spring Square to Henry Street. Leroy Pope donated the north half of the Court House Square and lot No. 14, which is the jail lot, to the city, and reserved on the south part lots No. 71 and 72, where R. H. Wilson lives, and lots No. 37 and 38 being the south half of the Holding Square. The southern portion of the town was sold rapidly in half-acre lots and brought from two to five hundred dollars

each, aggregating about ten thousand dollars which was applied to the erection of public buildings in accordance with law. Leroy Pope was in no hurry to sell, he cut his eligible lots into smaller parts and realized for the northern portion of the town more than double the amount for which the south half of the town was sold.

The names of our streets indicate that our fathers were a patriotic people, as we have Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Franklin, Gallatin, Madison, Green, Lincoln, Gates and Williams, in and around the original city. But the citizens were dissatisfied with the name of the city. English names were not popular with our people at that time. The Spring at that time had been known to the county as Hunt's Spring. John Hunt, like many other famous pioneers, was careless in his financial affairs, and at the land sales was not able to purchase the land on which he located, and could not make the payments on the quarter section which he did purchase at the land sales, and it reverted to the government. The people generally objected to the name of the county site and thought that in justice to John Hunt the town should bear his name. Col. Pope and the trustees, in justice to John Hunt, and in deference to the wishes of the people of the county in their petition for a charter, asked that the name of the town be changed from Twickenham to Huntsville; and in December, 1811, when the town was incorporated by the Territorial Legislature the city received its present name. Under this charter of incorporation five trustees were appointed to be a body politic, under the name and style of "The Board of Trustees for the Town of Huntsville." These trustees elected a town constable and some other city officers and were authorized to raise a revenue for municipal purposes by taxation not to exceed the sum of *two hundred dollars*. The first amendment to the city charter was by the legislature of 1815, under which a board of trustees, a town constable, city treasurer, assessor and collector were elected by the qualified voters in the corporation for a term of one year. It provided that on the day after the election the trustees should meet and elect a president, and the name and style of the body was "The President and Board of Trustees of Huntsville." The Board had a common seal and were empowered to raise a tax limited to twelve and a half cents on the hundred dollars, unless increased by a vote of property holders. They were also authorized to levy a tax on all wagons and drays run for hire, and appoint a clerk of the corporation and of the market. By an act of 1818 the lots of Elisha B. Clarke, Alexander Campbell, Wm. Harris, Francis Newman, Fleming Ward, Daniel and Jere Murphy, Nicholas Sheffield, Wm. Clarke, Adam Cross, Wm. Steilman, and Thornton

Cook, living on the extension of Green and Meridian Streets north of the corporation, were embraced in the same. In 1821 the corporation was extended in a square extending a quarter of a mile from the court house, from which was excepted Thomas and William Brandon's negro quarters on the western road, and at the same time John Read, Jesse Searcy and Henry Stokes were appointed town commissioners to fill vacancies made since the year 1809 in that body. The Legislature of the State at its session of 1843-4 granted a new charter to the city, by which the city was divided into four wards and a mayor and eight aldermen elected, and the limits of the city extended to half a mile from the court house; the name and style of the corporation changed to "Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Huntsville," which corporation remained without any material change until the war. My information is that Joseph S. Clark was Mayor for several years and the first under the new act of incorporation, and there are many citizens of the town who remember him.

I have devoted the greater part of this chapter to the history of Huntsville as a municipality, because it is the only way a clear and concise account of the city government can be made intelligible, and of disposing finally of this part of my subject to 1844. Through the kindness of Mr. Simpson Walker, grandson of John W. Walker, I have been permitted the use of an article in which he gives a short account of the development of the city and county in 1817. From this article I made some extracts and will probably make further use of it in the future. John W. Walker was licensed to practice law in the county at the first court in 1810, and of the brilliant and promising young lawyers of Huntsville who rose to eminence, he was the most talented and popular. Unfortunately for his State and for the nation he was suddenly cut off in the prime of his manhood, and at the outset of a public career that would have soon placed him in the front rank with the able and gifted Southern men whose intellects shaped and controlled the destinies of the whole country for nearly half a century. I propose to sketch his life and character in a future article. Here is what he says of Huntsville and the county: "Huntsville is situated about ten miles from Tennessee River, immediately round one of the finest springs in the world, issuing from a fine perpendicular cliff fifty feet high, in a sheet of water one hundred feet wide in a semi-circle forming instantly a fine bold creek, which it is now confidently believed can at a trivial expense be rendered navigable for batteaux to the Tennessee. Each square contains two acres divided into half acre lots, so that every lot is a corner lot. The public square contains about three

and a half acres, lying immediatly back of the spring cliff. On this are a court house, and market of brick and a small wooden jail. The first lot was sold on the 4th of July, so that the whole town is the growth of six years. In the suburbs are five cotton gins." Speaking of the county he says: "The latitude of 35 degrees, which is the southern boundary of the State of Tennessee, bounds it on the north, on the other sides it is surrounded by Indian lands claimed by the Cherokee and Chickasaw Tribes. The public land sales commenced in August, 1809. Its settlement and improvement have been rapid almost beyond parallel, and the price of land has advanced amazingly. The soil is for the most part excellent and admirably adapted to the culture of cotton, corn, wheat and tobacco. Cotton is the staple, of which the average product is one thousand pounds per acre. Upwards of five thousand bales were shipped down the river last season besides a considerable quantity sent to Kentucky and elsewhere by wagons. The seat of justice is Huntsville. The face of the country is the most beautiful in the world, being in the main a level plain yet affording many mountain prospects and much romantic scenery. Its water courses are permanent and afford many sites for important machinery. There are upwards of twenty already. The county possesses upwards of twenty cotton gins besides those in Huntsville, and many more will be erected in the fall. The climate is healthful and in a high degree pleasant. Nowhere do you see more children with ruddy faces. There are even now about thirty stores in Huntsville, and the crop of cotton for the present year will not be less than eight thousand bales." Unfortunately the draft in possession of his descendants did not have the number filled in giving the population of the city, the number of families, the number of brick and frame houses, etc., and if the communication addressed to Mr. W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, in which the blanks were filled up was accessible much valuable statistical information would be obtained, but without this it is a most interesting and valuable paper, showing what one of the county's most prominent citizens thought of the county, sixty-six years ago.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

EARLY HISTORY OF TUSCALOOSA

By THOMAS P. CLINTON

(This concludes Mr. Clinton's article "Early History of Tuscaloosa", the first half of which was printed in the Spring Issue of this magazine.—EDITOR.)

THE FIRST MERCHANT

It is hard to determine who was the first merchant in Tuscaloosa. In Judge Smith's⁽¹⁾ writings the opinion is expressed that Levin Powell was the first merchant. Nearly fifty years ago I used to hear the statement made that Levin Powell was the first postmaster and that the first postoffice stood a little north of the Baptist church on Market street, but this statement would not verify that he was the first merchant. I was told by a Mr. Henry Johnson, who lived here a great many years ago, that his father, David Johnson, an Irishman, came here in 1818, and built a log store either on the corner now occupied by the First National Bank or on the corner east of it where Maxwell Brothers' wholesale business stands, and that David Johnson was the first merchant. But this statement would not harmonize with the statement of a man named John McClary, who in the year 1898, lived near Havana, Hale County. He was then 93 years of age. He used to tell of his passing through Tuscaloosa in the year 1817, moving with his parents from South Carolina to Hale County, Alabama, and that in passing through Tuscaloosa he found there was only one store house "and it was made of pine poles." He never mentioned the location of this store or of the merchant who ran it. Several writers have made the statement that John Click was the first merchant. But no one makes mention as to the location of his store. There must have been several log stores on Broad street about this time. Major Dearing had one on the spot now occupied by the Gluck store, and there was a two-room log house on the Merchants Bank corner when Dr. Neilson came here in 1831. It had been built in very early days by a man named Thomas Lovel.

As to where these early pioneers built their homes, we have reason to believe that most of them were very near where the old state capitol stood. Mr. Finley, whose memory must have gone back to the twen-

(¹) William R. Smith, lawyer, author, M. C., born in Kentucky, 1815, died in Washington, D. C., 1896.

ties told me this was his recollection. He said "a few log cabins stood close to where the Baptist College now stands," which of course, we understand as the same locality. And Judge Smith, in his book of reminiscences speaks of Captain Dearing being here at Christmas time in 1816, and putting up at a "shanty of a hotel kept by Joshua Holbert." Many years afterwards Captain Dearing who was a kinsman of Dr. W. S. Wyman, told Dr. Wyman that this shanty of a hotel stood at a spot perhaps about 200 feet west of where L. & N. freight depot now stands and near where the old water tower was built. This statement corroborates Mr. Finley's statement. Judge Smith also mentions that Captain Dearing made the first eggnog that was ever made in Tuscaloosa and at this hotel Christmas, 1816. From this we infer that the "wet" element was in evidence in Tuscaloosa at a very early period—when the settlement was nine months old.

While yet musing on this particular year—the first year of Tuscaloosa—it might be of some interest to make some selections from the Journal of Richard Breckenridge, who, with some companions, visited the little settlement that year. He was looking for a location in the Creek Indian country to make his home. He had ridden horseback from some point in Tennessee to the Bigbee River⁽¹⁾ near where Columbus⁽²⁾ now stands. There he turned east, and from the wording of his journal in which he wrote each day one would infer that he passed through portions of Marion, Winston, and Walker counties, and that through all this region there was not a single settler. When he entered Jones Valley in Jefferson County he made the following entries: "August 23rd noon: Having this morning met with Mr. George Reed and others going down to the Falls of the Black Warrior, and Cahaba, I concluded to accompany them and so returned with them. Night: We continued down Jones Valley—saw some excellent land and then camped about four miles above Click's store.

"August 24th, 1816. Started early. Went down to Pennington's mill where we bought some meal and corn at one dollar per bushel. Having left Mr. Pennington's we traveled about five miles to a fine spring and then moved, at which time Mr. Reed offered Mr. McCoy 50 cents if he would kill a small swamp rabbit that appeared wonderful restless. He took the rifle and notwithstanding its restlessness he hit it at the first shot."

(¹) Tombigbee.

(²) Mississippi

From this entry we see that at least Mr. Breckenridge, Mr. Reed and Mr. McCoy were in the party. The Journal continues: "August 25th. We saw some good land and some fine springs, but the water was not (words illegible). We camped at a fine spring but the land was broken. August 26th. We came over some high pine ridges to Hurricane creek, where we found another good spring but the land was not very good, and we went down the creek some distance, but saw no good land.

"August 27th, 1816: We came down this day to the Falls. (*Tuscaloosa*). We saw some excellent land and good springs. There is as handsome a situation for a town as I ever saw. Within half a mile of the river springs are plentiful and excellent. I want a home that (several words illegible) move as soon as possible.

"August 28th, 1816: I take the third start for home this morning much better satisfied than I have ever been before. 10 o'clock: I traded for a small improvement and engaged the same man to cut the logs of a home 20 by 16 on an adjoining spring. I then started and went (words illegible) to a small branch being 10 miles from Hurricane Creek, the first water."

Now from these extracts from Richard Breckenridge's journal, we get the information that Hurricane Creek had its name one hundred years ago, and that the land adjacent was regarded as "not very good." We also learn that there was a merchant in Jones Valley named Click. And a man named Pennington, who had a mill. Richard Breckenridge had fought in the Creek war in 1813. In his statement of August 28th, it will be noticed he traded for a "small improvement", but he did not make this town or county his home. After getting back to Tennessee he started over land to Columbus, and there built boats and went down the Bigbee River to Marengo County, where he died in 1840.

FIRST BOAT TRIP

Further on in his journal, Mr. Breckenridge makes mention of being the guest of the same John Jones who had taken care of Davy Crockett the fall preceding 1815, when Crockett was sick. Referring to the visit Mr. Breckenridge says: "I got considerable information from Mr. Jones concerning the navigation of the Black Warrior, as he was the first man that brought a boat up that river. Mr. Jones informs me that the Black Warrior is not susceptible of navigation by large boats or even pirogues except in the winter or spring season." Mr.

Breckenridge does not mention that Mr. Jones gave him any details of this first boat trip. But seventeen years ago Mr. Owen of the Department of Archives and History at Montgomery brought to light the particulars of a boat trip to our wharf in this year that Tuscaloosa first existed, 1816. This boat trip was made from Mobile to Tuscaloosa in September and maybe early October of that year. It was made by a Huntsville merchant, James O. Crump. He communicated an account of the voyage to the Alabama Republican, a newspaper published at Huntsville under date of December 6th, 1816. I think Mr. Crump's letter is of considerable interest from a number of viewpoints. Besides speaking of the condition of the river he also tells us something of the Huntsville road back in that remote period. I have often wondered who cut out the Huntsville road and prepared it for a wagon track. Mr. Crump's letter shows that the road was in existence as long as our town has been in existence, fully one hundred years ago. Mr. Crump wrote to the Republican as follows:

"I have been requested to give you a memorandum of my trip to Mobile, and the navigation of the Tombigbee and (as far up as the falls of) the Black Warrior River. I left home about the first of September for Mobile, and on my way engaged with Captain Bacon to take charge of my boat, etc., which I procured at Mobile drawing about two feet of water when loaded. At St. Stephen the cargo was completed of some articles that could not be procured below. I accompanied the boat about eight miles to see her safe over Megrew's shoals, a place said to be dangerous in passing over loaded boats. There was at that time a flood in the river and we had little or no difficulty in getting through. Captain Bacon states that he was 20 days in coming from Mobile to the Falls of the Black Warrior, including five or six days of delay. The impediments in the river are trifling to such a boat as mine, which is about 35 feet in length. The cargo consisting of brown and Havana white sugars, coffee, rum, wine, oranges and a few dry goods, arrived at the Falls in good order: Two wagon (sic) loads of sugar, wine, coffee, and oranges I brought to Huntsville; and it is remarkable that out of one-thousand oranges, not more than half a dozen spoiled. In eight days the wagons reached this place from the Falls of the Black Warrior over a road three-fifths of which is level and the balance not much broken. Not more than three hills of consequence are recollected, and a four horse team can easily draw a two thousand pound weight up either of them. There has been very little labor bestowed in cutting out the road, and I discovered that by turn-

ing it a little from its windings it could be greatly improved. The distance I suppose from Huntsville to the Falls of the Black Warrior is about 120 miles. It is evident the distance can be much shortened by straightening the road."

We have in this sketch noted the journal of Richard Breckenridge as written about his horseback ride to Tuscaloosa in 1816. Now I shall make mention of another journal written by Rev. John Owen, one of the first pastors of the First Methodist Church in Tuscaloosa. At the time of his writing this journal in 1818, he was on his way from Virginia with one or more wagons to Tuscaloosa. He was nine weeks on the road exposed to many hardships and dangers. He had with him his family and some slaves. These were in all probability, the first or some of the first negro slaves brought to the place. Some of the entries in the journal were as follows:

December 16th. Started late. Bad roads. Got no provisions for self or horses. Did not like the conduct of the Indians. Camped night. Walker's Indians drunk. Came to Mr. Harris' tent and plagued us all night. Horses got away and detained us.

"December 17th. Found horses late. Indian tries to shoot us. Mr. Harris and family very kind and assist us. Made a tolerable day's drive and camped nigh the line not far from Ratliff's. Got corn and fodder.

"December 18th. Crossed the line into the *Alabama territory*. Very glad on the occasion. Mr. Harris' wagon breaks down. Stopped to assist him. Camped nigh Leath's.

"December 22nd. Rained all night. Started late. Misty rain all day. Roads bad, entered Jones' Valley. Good land. Corn and fodder high. All well.

"December 23rd. Roads bad, fell in with hog drivers, bought pork, camped at the mill, Pennington.

"December 24. Roads little better, corn high. People shuffling.

"December 25th. Roads little better. Christmas day.—1818.

"December 26th. Passed broken roads and got to *Tuscaloosa* and feel thankful to kind heaven that after nine weeks traveling and exposed to every danger that we arrived safe and in good health."

Thus Mr. Owen's journal ends. He lived forty years in Tuscaloosa and died here in 1848.

NAMES OF THE CITY

One interesting fact to be learned from the last entry in his journal (John Owen's) is that at his arrival, Christmas, 1818, and two years and nine months after the arrival of the first settlers, he calls the place *Tuscaloosa*. This name was according to my information the fourth one the place had received in its short life of between two and three years. In the first and oldest deed book in the probate office the place is mentioned as "The Falls of the Black Warrior." And in another place in these old books the young city is called "Shelldown." Martin Sums, elsewhere referred to in this article, used to explain that this name was given on account of a large bank of mussel shells a little down the river and west of the settlement. So much for those two names. Then I have reason to believe that for a while the place was known as "Matildaville."

As to the origin of this name I will say that about thirteen years ago, I received a letter from Professor H. S. Halbert, of Meridian, Miss., giving me the information that Joshua H. Halbert, who kept the "shanty of a hotel" in Tuscaloosa in 1816 was a grand uncle of his, and that he (Joshua H.) was a preacher (he did not say of what denomination), and that he was the first man to drive a horse wagon into Tuscaloosa. "Ox wagons", the letter reads, "no doubt may have preceded him, but his was the first horse wagon." And again quoting from his letter, and being more pertinent to the subject he says, "Rev. Joshua Halbert married Matilda Nash and I have always heard that Tuscaloosa was first called *Matildaville* in honor of her before it received its final name of Tuscaloosa." So we see how the place evolved so to speak, in names during its first two or three years.

In 1817 there were 200 people in Tuscaloosa. About January, 1818, the first census of the little town was taken and there was a population of two hundred and ninety-six (296) inhabitants. For the next two years the growth in population for the town and county must have been very rapid. Brewer's history of Alabama, page 550, gives the information that in 1820, four years after the arrival of Thomas York, there was in the town and county 5894 white people and 2335 negro slaves, or a total of 8229 inhabitants. Brewer also makes the following statements regarding the county, page 570:

"Wm. L. Adams was the first lawyer that came to the county; John L. Tindall the first physician, John Click the first merchant, Richmond Carroll the first blacksmith, and Nathan Roberts the first

preacher. Under the territorial government Isaac Patrick was the first chief justice of the county court, John Smith the sheriff, Wm. H. Terrell the first clerk of the superior and Matthew Click of the county court. Under the state government Hume R. Field was the first judge of the county court, Henry T. Anthony was the clerk of that court; John Hodge the first sheriff; and Matthew Click the first circuit court clerk. Julius Sims represented the county in the territorial legislation. Marmaduke Williams and John L. Tindall represented the county in the convention that formed the constitution; Robert Jemison and Wm. R. Smith represented it in the 'secession' convention; and Moses McGuire and John C. Foster in the 'reconstruction' convention."

NEW TOWN

In the legislative session of 1819, Thomas Hogg was the first state senator and the representatives in the lower house were James Hill, Hardin Perkins, and Julius Sims. A little after this period of time, in 1821, that part of the present city limits known as "West End" and at times called "New Town", was purchased from Colonel Wm. Ely, agent of the deaf and dumb orphan asylum of Hartford, Conn. It was purchased for making an addition to the original city limits which included all of Section 22. The new addition included a little over half of Section 21. The purchasers were Wm. L. Marr, Hardin Perkins, Wm. Parris, Charles Lewin, Isaac Patrick, James Spencer, John Spencer, Peter A. Remson, Benjamin and George Cox, Gilbert and Gordon Salestonstall. These purchasers had the half section surveyed into lots and streets and sold at private sale the lots. Most of the above named parties built their homes in this new addition. Wm. L. Marr lived where Mr. Charley Morgan now lives. Hardin Perkins, as before stated, built and owned and lived in the present residence of Mr. George Morgan. Charles Lewin lived where Mr. Marion Ward lived and ran a hotel built partly of logs and partly of brick. George Cox, who had been a sea captain, had a store on the corner northwest from Mr. Ward's where Mr. George Davidson once owned and lived. Captain Cox lies buried under a brick vault about a hundred yards north of the Dr. Trimm residence.

When "New Town" began making a pretty good showing contention arose as to where the court house should stand, whether in the old survey, or in "New Town." Many years ago I was told by some

of the oldest inhabitants then living that in order to settle this contention compromise was made and the court house was built as near the section line as possible on lots 9 and 10 in New Town survey. While in a sense of the word it was a compromise, it was as a matter of fact the result of an election held by the people of the county in February, 1822. This brick court house stood perhaps about fifty feet east of Richard Malone's residence and about fifty feet west of the old Clements store site. This court house was destroyed, together with most of New Town by a tornado which started where I am now living, at seven o'clock in the morning of March the 4th, 1842. At this period of time there lived in Tuscaloosa Dr. S. M. Meek, father of Judge A. B. Meek. He wrote in his journal regarding this cyclone as follows:

"March 4th, 1842. I arose about 6 o'clock. Thunder clouds overcast the Heavens. About seven o'clock the rain commenced pouring down in torrents. Heavy thunder, sharp and brilliant flashes of lightning accompanied by considerable wind. The river is very high—has not been so full in many years—weather still warm. Thermometer 66 degrees. The thunder storm soon became a tornado, a hurricane commencing, so far as I can ascertain, below General Crabb's (now W. L. Stewart's) in New Town, demolishing his fences and outhouses, garden and part of his dwelling house. Next Mr. King's brick house blown down to lower story, outhouse blown down, fences blown away and most of his furniture blown away and destroyed. Mr. Lewen's two-story brick and wooden tavern demolished, fences leveled and furniture destroyed. Miss Lewen had her thigh broken by the violence of the storm. Thomas Cumming's two-story brick dwelling was blown down and his second daughter, a beautiful girl of about sixteen years of age, instantly killed as she was on her knees at prayer. Ned Berry and Solomon Peteet (free negroes) had their outhouses and fences demolished, their dwelling houses greatly damaged, chimneys blown down, a horse of Peteet's killed and his carriage torn to pieces. Baylor's houses all blown down. Burn's brick house and old court house leveled to the ground. All fences in the neighborhood blown away. The greatest violence of the storm seemed to pass between the state house and the river, only a few shingles being blown off the state house, but the storm demolished all fences in its path. Perhaps ten or twelve dwelling houses were destroyed. It struck the bridge across the river, injured two or three of the pillars, uprooted one side about sixty feet, completely sweeping away much of the sheeting and shingles to parts

unknown, the bridge itself as a body on the piers about eighteen inches or two feet up the river. The storm took an easterly direction and such a scene of destruction of house, fences, gardens, etc., I have never witnessed. There was but one life lost, that of the beautiful and lovely girl above referred to. But O, the value of one soul! I thank God that at the time she was on her knees in prayer. I hope she went home to her Heavenly Father. O, my God, how short and uncertain is human life. How vast the issues of time and eternity in the Almighty hands!" So reads Dr. Meek's account of the tornado, writing on the day it happened. Now after a lapse of seventy-four years only about half of the places he mentions could be located.

In Holcomb's "History of the Baptist Church in Alabama", published in 1840, an account is given of the organization of the first church in Tuscaloosa. It was a Baptist church called "Ebenezer", and was established January 27th, 1818. The building stood very close to the present L. & N. freight depot—a little southwest. Thirty years ago a large oak tree marked the site of the old-time church. Close by the church was the first grave yard. It was on the identical spot where the L. & N. freight office now stands. This "Ebenezer" church which was organized on the above named date had no regular preacher till April following, when Rev. Nathan Roberts became their first pastor and held the position three years. Bethel church, seven miles from Tuscaloosa on the watermelon road was organized in the same month and year, with nineteen members.

When starting this article I was hoping to embrace in it an account of the war period from 1861 till 1865. But I now realize that to do so would make this communication entirely too long. In closing I shall say a few words about the building of Tuscaloosa's first railroad, the A. G. S.⁽¹⁾ It was projected before the war and was surveyed by General Rodes⁽²⁾ about 1855. It is probable that Alfred Battle exerted himself more than any one else in the building of this railroad. Some work was done on it before the war. But the war coming on in 1861 stopped all work on it till about 1869 or 1870. John C. Stanton had the contract for building the road, and he re-let the building of it to different contractors. The road was built from Meridian to Tuscaloosa by Major Matt Kennedy, an Irishman who had held the rank of Major in the Confederate army. In this road building he lost \$16,000.00.

(¹) Alabama Great Southern.

(²) Gen. Robert Emmet Rodes, 1829-1864; major-general C. S. A.; civil engineer; resident of Tuscaloosa, 1855-1865.

The first two miles extending east from the Greensboro road and beyond Horace Baker's, was built by L. C. Spear. Further up the line near the county poor house was graded by Whitney and Munson. The road was finished in the spring of 1871. The track laying came from Chattanooga and Birmingham this way, and on Friday, February 17th, 1871, the first locomotive with a train of cars attached came in to Cottondale, then called Kenedale. And on Monday the 6th day of March the first train came in to Tuscaloosa. The last spike, a silver spike, was driven (in the track laying) on May the 15th, 1871, about half a mile beyond Big Sandy Creek on the Frierson Plantation.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT

(The Genealogical Department of The Alabama Historical Quarterly will be conducted by Miss Mary R. Mullen, Librarian and Research Expert of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History. Extracts from letters received in this Department from correspondents all over the country, asking for information concerning family connections will be reproduced in this Department with the hope that some one reading it may supply Miss Mullen with the information wanted. A number of such inquiries are printed below. Answers coming to the magazine will be printed in the next issue.—EDITOR).

ANSWERS

Taylor—Henry Franklin Taylor married Tabitha Lee and was a son of Jerry Taylor. He lived near Attalla, Ala., a suburb of Gadsden, in Etowah County. He went out in Company I, 10th Alabama, C. S. A., and died of the measles at Richmond, Va., May 10, 1862. He was the father of Nancy Elizabeth and Jerry Theopolis Taylor. She removed to Mississippi, was to have gone to Memphis, Tenn., to marry Andrew J. Green and were then supposed by the family here to have removed to New Iberia, La. After this they were never heard from again. They were advertised for but were never heard from and were supposed to have perished in a flood.

Tabitha Dorcas Lee was the daughter of Col. Wm. Carroll Lee by his second wife, Dorcas Littlefield. Col. Wm. C. Lee was the son of Needham Lee, Sr., and a grandson of Capt. Thomas Lee, of Lee Valley, Hawkins County, Tenn., and Wyeth County, Va. Capt. Thomas Lee was a cousin of President Zachary Taylor and some members of the Lee and Taylor families continued to intermarry even after migration to Alabama.—W. F. F.

QUERIES

11. Eley—Information as to Eli Eley and wife, Betsy Tatum, presumably of Choctaw County, Ala. Children of Eli and Betsy (Tatum) Eley; 1. Algernon Sidney Eley, b. 1812, d. 1868, killed between Henderson, Texas, and Shreveport, La., buried Mt. Enterprise, Tex., married Martha A. Payne, of Georgia, three children, Amelia, Fannie, and Emma May; 2. Howell; 3. Sam, some of his family lived near Dawson, Ga., two sons, Howell and Sam, Jr.; 4. Rebecca; 5.

Elizabeth, married a Mr. Knighton, died, leaving an heir, S. A. Knighton, Pearlinton, Miss.; 6. Julia, married a Mr. Dozier, two daughters, Mrs. Jim Hale, Coden, Ala., and Mrs. Laura Fuller, Meridian, Miss.; 7. Elsie, died single; 8. Pauline or Polly, died single.—L. L. M., Des Moines, Iowa.

12. Seaton—Moser.—My grandmother, Rhoda (Seaton) Britt had a nephew, John Seaton, of Savannah, Ga. Her mother was a Moser. Information wanted of either of these families.—M. C. B., Wichita, Kansas.

13. Reed—Would like the will of James Reed (really Read, but spelled three ways in records) from Lawrence County.—L. G. P., Los Angeles, Cal.

14. Owen—Buried in Oxford, Miss., with the following inscriptions: John Owen. Born about 1763—Died March 1, 1845. Mary Owen, Born about 1767—Died October 24, 1856—She was a native of South Carolina. Went to Lafayette County, Miss., from Old Decatur, Ala. Also any information about Dr. Swanzy, of Mobile.—H. T. R., Clarksdale, Miss.

15. Parsons—Information about the Parsons family. Silas Parsons, judge of Alabama Supreme Court, was a member of this family.—J. M. P., Des Moines, Iowa.

16. Burks—Have only two names in this family, Wyatt Burks and Jim Burks. Early members went from Virginia and Alabama to Texas. Any information will be appreciated.—A. G., Moody, Tex.

17. Craven—Beckwith.—Dr. Jesse Craven lived near Marion, Ala., before removing to Octibbeha County, Miss. His wife was a Miss Curry. Would also like information about Beckwith family. Benjamin Franklin Beckwith came as a child from Abbeville District, S. C., to Tuscaloosa, Ala. Born Feb. 1, 1810. Went to Columbus, Miss., with his mother, formerly a Miss Nash, and his uncle, Abner Nash. Married Sarah Cox.—F. M. S., Columbus, Miss.

THE BILLBOARD

(With this issue of the ALABAMA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, a Department to be known as The Billboard is established. Under this heading will be found current historical news as well as news about the achievements of Alabamians in literature and other fields.—EDITOR.)

The January, 1930, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, published in Durham, N. C., carried a fourteen-page article on "The Economic Background of Southern Populism," by Hallie Farmer, Dean of History at Alabama College, Montevallo.

The Manufacturers Record (Baltimore, Md.) June 12, had an article, "Romance in Alabama," by John Temple Graves II. Mr. Graves is a member of the staff of the Birmingham News.

The *Virginia Quarterly Review* of April, 1930, (Charlottesville, Va.) has as the leader a ten page article, "Alabama Goes Industrial," by Clarence E. Cason, Professor of Journalism at the University of Alabama. The same issue carries a poem by Lawrence Lee, "Noon in Barbour County" ⁽¹⁾. Mr. Lee, a native Alabamian, resides in New York where he edits two magazines for Street and Smith, "Sport Story Magazine," and "Excitement."

Miss Lucy Winn, of Clayton, Ala., is doing reportorial work on the staff of the New York Sun.

Mrs. Alice Alison Lide, of Minter, Ala., and her sister, Mrs. Margaret Alison Johansen, have had their book for juveniles, "Oodle-uk, the Wanderer," which is being published by Little, Brown & Co., of New York, accepted by the Junior Literary Guild as the book of the month.

Miss Helen Claire, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rosenstihl, of Union Springs, is playing in one of Broadway's leading successes.

Miss Mary Fabian of Birmingham, concert and opera singer, has recently contracted with the moving picture people to take the leading role in a musical drama.

Tallulah Bankhead, a native of Huntsville, Ala., is taking the part of "Camille" in Lindon, England, where she has been playing various

⁽¹⁾ See Spring Issue, Ala. Hist. Quar.

roles for the past eight years. The critics have given her interpretation favorable comparison with Duse and Burnhardt, who were so distinguished in this role in their day.

Miss Virginia Beauchamp, of Montgomery, a moving picture actress in the Hollywood studios, has been making personal appearances in the movie theatres in Alabama.

WORLD-WIDE HISTORY

A cablegram from Luton, England, reports the finding of the skeleton of a Saxon soldier, in a 1400 year old grave. The discovery was made by workmen excavating for an industrial concern. The grave was in hard chalk and lay only sixteen inches from the surface of the ground. Antiquarians consulted about the find state that the skeleton undoubtedly was that of a Saxon soldier who under the leadership of a Chieftain named Cuthwulf, participated in the Saxon attack upon the British in 571 A. D. Luton was then a fortified town known as Lygeanberg. With the skeleton was found a blood stained iron spear head.

The ruins of an ancient city in Southwestern Arizona, believed by the Indians to be one of the fabled "Seven Cities of Cibola," has been discovered by W. J. Hanna, a Federal land inspector who stumbled upon the ruins while roaming through a desert near the Mohawk mountains fifty miles south of Palomas. The ruins, nearly leveled, are covered by shifting sand dunes over an area six miles square. Traces of masonry and hard beaten thoroughfares appear. Grinding stones and pestles and broken pieces of pottery are scattered about. A prehistoric water course is evident and the remains of an elaborate irrigation system criss-cross. Legend says the Seven Cities of Cibola were built of gold. A Spanish priest, Father Nizo, in an old account of early Spanish explorers, told of camping on a cliff watching the inhabitants eat from plates of gold. Others sought the cities, among them Caronado, the explorer, but in vain.

The old Friends Meeting House in Flushing, N. Y., an interesting old Quaker landmark of the Colonial period, has had its dignity jeopardized by plans to place a swimming pool along side the structure. The historical agencies of New York State are interesting themselves with a view to preserving the old church in its present historical setting.

An organization for the preservation of historical landmarks in Charleston, S. C., is actively engaged in preserving not only old buildings with their proper setting but is attempting to create a sentiment on behalf of citizens of Charleston who own historical materials, museum objects, etc., to retain them in their own city. Coarload lots have gone to all parts of the country from Charleston in past years, carrying distinction to museums and private homes.